

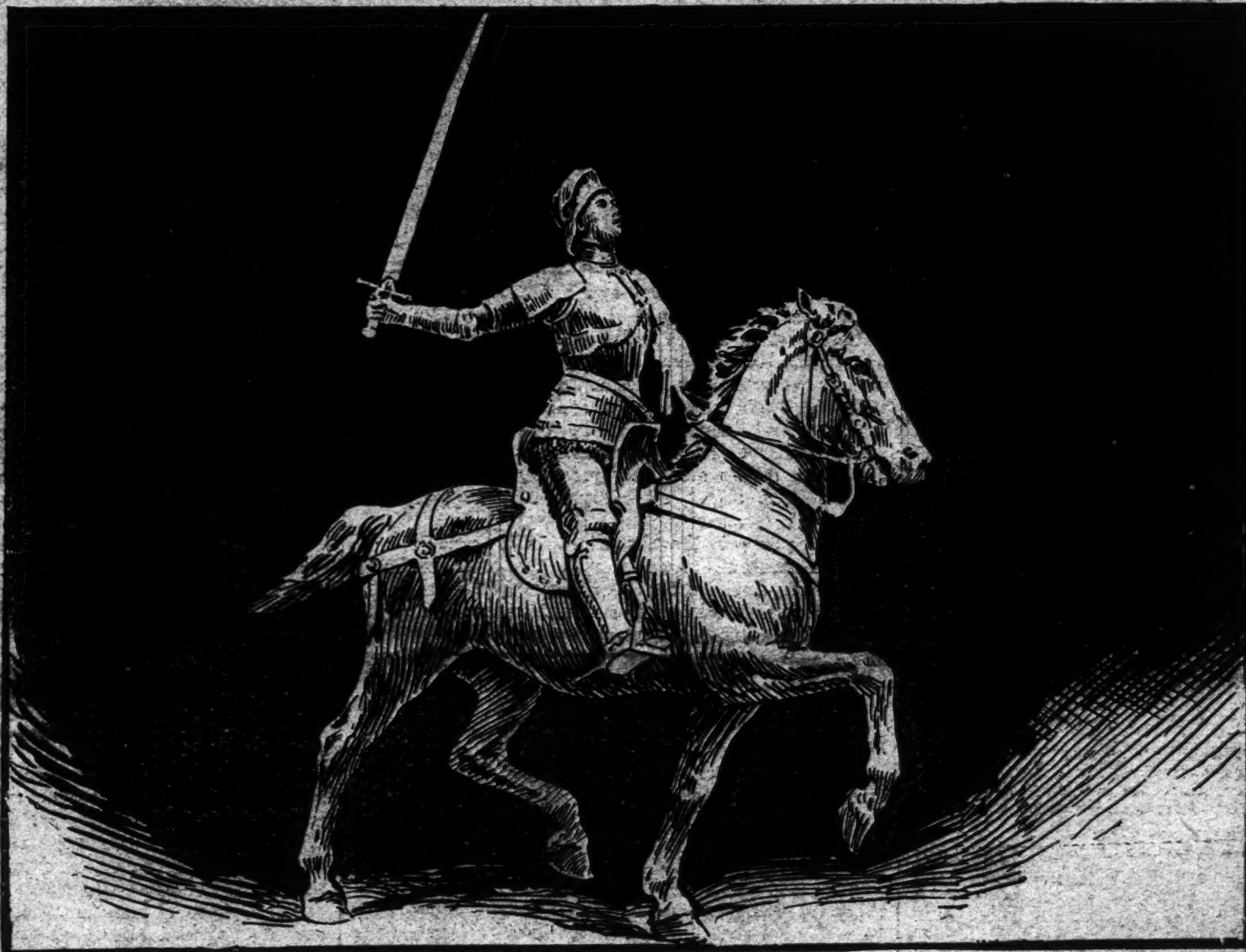
VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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JOAN OF ARC.

(Statue by F. Dubois.)

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

We wish our readers a very happy year in 1912! May it be a year not merely full of personal happiness but also fruitful for the cause we all have at heart! May the New Year bring Votes to Women, and may the old sex inequality be altogether swept away!

Mr. Lloyd George at Cardiff.

Suffragist members of the Cabinet, who had consented to the betrayal of the pledge in respect of the Conciliation Bill given by the Government as a whole,

found a convenient escape from responsibility in a promise to advocate woman suffrage from the public platform. Women suffragists, who have been taught practical politics by hard experience, were never greatly impressed by the value of such an offer. We are not surprised that Mr. Lloyd George, who opposed the Conciliation Bill with all his eloquence in 1910, and "torpedoed" it in 1911, should have apparently forgotten all about Votes for Women when speaking at Cardiff last Friday. The problems of poverty, wretchedness, and bad housing could only be dealt with by the community as a community, he reminded his audience; but he failed to point out that up to the present time one entire half of the community has been arbitrarily excluded from any power to deal with these evils by national endeavour.

"Put Not your Trust . . ."

He spoke of "cottages reeking with tuberculosis," of "damp, wretched, dark dismal" abodes; he spoke of "women condemned to death for the sole crime of sticking to their homes," and of "little children who have the germs of death sown into their system by abominable housing accommodation." But not one word did Mr. Lloyd George utter of the cruelty and crime of depriving women of the vote—that means of protecting themselves and their children—which he lauded to the skies when speaking to men a short while ago anent the blessings conferred upon them by the Liberal Government! There could have been no more fitting occasion for referring to this "non-party" question of Votes for Women or for expounding its ethical and moral significance. It is exceedingly fortunate for the Woman's Movement that it does not depend upon the advocacy of Cabinet Ministers. The country has been converted to Woman Suffrage already: all that is necessary for Suffragist members of the Liberal Government to do is to make an explicit declaration of the

policy that they intend to pursue in order that the principles of Liberalism and Democracy may be translated into the law of the land.

The Political Prospect.

Never was the political situation more complex than it is at the present moment, never were the prospects of a new session more uncertain. On the face of it there is a very serious divergence of opinion in the Cabinet on the subject of Votes for Women, which we are told is to be settled by an "open" vote in the House of Commons. "And as Woman Suffragists are in a majority in the House," we are further told "the vote is sure to be favourable to women and the hostile majority in the Cabinet will then fall into line." We have never disguised from our readers our entire incredulity in the prospect of this solution; and it is interesting to note that *The Nation* is evidently also uneasy with regard to it. It says:—

The trouble will come when the public realises, amid the dangerous strain of an overloaded programme, the division in the Cabinet on Woman Suffrage. . . . We confess that we see with some foreboding a Prime Minister pledged to an active prosecution of his views on the Suffrage and his two most powerful lieutenants committed to an equally active furtherance of their opposite opinion, the two forces meeting in full clash on the floor of the House of Commons and then turning to each other in dramatic reconciliation and self-surrender over the victorious cause.

And there are indications that other Liberal papers hold a similar view.

Four Possible Endings to the Session.

For our own part we frankly do not believe that any such solution is compatible with a logical sequence of political events. We see, instead, four possible alternative ways in which the present imbroglio may end. Firstly, the Anti-Suffrage element in the Cabinet may be brought into line with the Suffrage element. Or, secondly, the so-called dissensions in the Cabinet may be more apparent than real, and the whole Cabinet

may really be willing to acquiesce in a settlement from which women continue to be shut out. Or, thirdly, the Cabinet may go to pieces on the question of Woman Suffrage. Or, fourthly, Parliament may be dissolved before the crisis on Woman Suffrage be reached. Let us consider each of these alternatives a little more in detail.

Anti-Suffrage Ministers may Give Way.

The solution for which we are working is the capitulation of the Anti-Suffrage Ministers and the acceptance by the Cabinet as a whole of Woman Suffrage, with the necessary corollary that the Manhood Suffrage Bill be dropped, and a Bill giving equal franchise rights to men and women be substituted in its place and pressed through Parliament with all the power of the Government. This solution will not be brought about by the forces within the Cabinet. It can only be produced by pressure from outside, to be applied not merely to the avowed Anti-Suffragists in the Cabinet, but also to those professing Suffragists who can only show their sincerity in one way, which hitherto they have refused to take. The welding together of the Cabinet is not an easy matter—it may involve even one or two resignations—but it is absolutely necessary if success is to be achieved; that is why the pressure exerted has to be vigorous and determined.

The Suffrage Ministers may Give Way.

The second solution would have been an easy matter if all Suffragists had accepted trustfully the offer made to them. The Suffrage Ministers would have put up a great fight—some of them in all sincerity, others in all insincerity—but in the end the foregone conclusion, arranged by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, would have been reached: the Suffragists would have been beaten and the Manhood Suffrage Bill carried. This solution has been rendered difficult of attainment owing to the exposure of the plan of campaign by the W.S.P.U., but the *Spectator* still believes it will be reached. "Mr. Asquith is the most astute of living Parliamentarians," it says, and proceeds to express its "confidence that somehow or other Mr. Asquith will so arrange things that female Suffrage will not be voted next session." This solution can only be prevented by determined and vigorous opposition.

Woman Suffrage may Break up the Cabinet.

A third alternative is that the Cabinet may break up on this question. This is the view taken by some Conservative papers. Thus the *Birmingham Daily Mail*, in its leading article, says:—

It seems quite possible that the "break up" of the Government which Sir Edward Grey admits was nearly reached recently will come about when the subject comes to be debated publicly, and when Ministers are forced to range themselves upon opposing sides.

The Parliamentary correspondent of the *Daily Express* says: "There is no chance of a compromise, and the Liberal Party will most likely go to disaster." And the correspondent of the *Manchester Dispatch* says: "It is problematic whether the existing Coalition in the House of Commons will survive the conflict which will ensue."

A Dissolution May Take Place First.

The remaining alternative is that a dissolution may take place before the crisis on Woman Suffrage be reached. This might be caused by dissatisfaction of the Nationalists at the terms of the Home Rule Bill, by a refusal of the Nationalists to allow a Manhood Suffrage Bill to be carried next year, by disagreement among Liberals on foreign policy, by intense unpopularity of the Insurance Bill, or in a number of other ways, every one of which has its champion in political circles. There are some who hold that the Government in introducing the Manhood Suffrage Bill and thus obviously overloading the programme for the session are deliberately riding for a fall. Thus the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* draws, as an inference from the list of Bills already announced that

the Government do not believe they will finish next session in power and with a working majority. Despair is on them, and they do not care what promises are made, since nothing will be carried out.

Several other papers take a similar line.

Be Ready!

We have no intention of prophesying as to which of these alternatives will happen. To attempt to do so would be futile. But we do know that success or failure depends largely upon ourselves. We must be ready for the most strenuous campaign that we have ever carried on since this movement began. We must be prepared for vigorous action whenever the call is made. We must be willing to sacrifice our time, our money, our personal freedom, and everything that is ours to give in the great cause of freedom for one-half the human race. Only so shall we be worthy of those who during the ages have held aloft the banner of progress, and of those brave comrades who to-day for the faith that is in them are confined within prison walls.

No Remission for Suffrage Prisoners.

We understand that no instruction has up to the present been given by Mr. McKenna to allow the

Suffrage prisoners the usual remission of sentence granted to ordinary prisoners. The absurd excuse is made that the regulation says that prisoners must earn their remission by industry and good conduct, and though no charge is made against their conduct, the fact that they are not called on to do prison work is being counted against them. This is a disgraceful quibble. The dates of their release are given on page 226.

Our Weapon in 1912.

Among the contents of this issue we draw special attention to the leading article, based on a political

dictum of Bismarck. Peace with honour can only be attained in the way set forth in that article, and our only weapon in 1912, as in former years, until our demand is conceded, is militancy.

Contents of this Issue.

We begin this week a valuable series of articles on Votes for Women in New Zealand, by Lady Stout. By special permission of the proprietors of *Punch* we reproduce a delightful cartoon on page 220. We also quote some American views of Mrs. Pankhurst, who will soon be returning to this country, and whom we shall welcome home at the London Pavilion on Jan. 15.

POLITICAL SENTIMENTALISTS.

By Laurence Housman.

(A Speech made at the John Hampden Dinner of the Tax-Resistance League.)

"Distance," we are told, "lends enchantment to the view"; more especially, perhaps, to the view of political sentimentalists, conspicuous among whom, in our own day, stand the Anti-Suffragists. I am afraid, therefore, that I cannot present to these political sentimentalists so alluring a view of John Hampden's most recent successors in Tax-Resistance as that which they draw for themselves of a John Hampden comfortably removed from us by two and a half centuries. A fighter for Constitutional Liberty in the dim and distant past is a safe and harmless article. Putting him on the back, we have a pleasant feeling that we are patting our own backs. "Fine fellow!" we say, "had we been alive in your day we would have done just the same." And then, blinded by our sentimentality, we turn round and shower contempt and abuse on those who to-day are doing precisely the same thing for the same object, especially if they happen to be women!

There you get the characteristically narrow and one-sided view of the sentimentalist. He cannot bring his moral principles up to date or apply them to the unwelcome political phenomena of his own day. That arch-sentimentalist, Mr. Lloyd George, for instance, goes down to his native fastnesses in Wales, and to a native audience praises those Welsh "Rebegas" of the past—men who, disguised as women in order to avoid arrest, broke down toll-gates and barriers allowed by law. But he has no praise whatever for the English Rebegas who here and now are up against that far more abominable barrier of sex disqualification which the Government's Manhood Suffrage Bill tends still further to accentuate, and which he will still support though all projected amendments to it should fail. Yet the only moral difference between these women and those Welshmen whom he praised is that the women have adopted no cowardly disguise in order to avoid the legal penalty of their action. Mr. Lloyd George's bread is sentimentally buttered on the side away from militancy, and so he chooses to stay blind to the historical parallel; but the parallel remains, and must be in the minds of any who trouble to read history.

Now, how has this wide divergence in the attitude of our politicians towards the past and the present of a great moral principle come about? Largely, I believe, because our whole male electorate, as we have it to-day, has come by its constitutional liberties too cheaply; and holding too cheaply that which we have too cheaply gained we find those who are now engaged in a keen and a determined struggle to obtain the same liberties as ourselves—we find such people, especially as they happen to be women, very uncomfortable neighbours and troublesome to our consciences. They remind us that we have cheapened and degraded in the materialism of our party system something for which our forefathers died.

These "village Hampdens" have the bad taste to cry aloud in the auction-room and the public street, instead of keeping to their proper place, the village churchyard, where they are so innocuous, that poems can safely be written about them—immortal elegies—and we Britishers assist with fat sentimental tears to lay that dust out of which our constitutional liberties have been built. "But, for heaven's sake," we say, "don't raise that dust!" The resurrection of that just spirit of rebellion is the last thing which our present Liberal bureaucracy wishes to see.

And yet the people who deprecate that spirit are turning their backs on English history and forgetting the rebellious quality of certain great deeds of the past which we praise to-day. Eliminate from the pages of history all those who have been quite legally imprisoned or condemned to death as rebels against contemporary authority, and you cut out the names which more than all others are synonymous with the cause of constitutional freedom. Remember that the acts for which we praise men like Hampden to-day have been regularised by subsequent legislation, and that we are apt to regard as law-makers (because of the ultimate result of their struggle) those who were in fact law-breakers. John Hampden broke the law of his day, because the King was breaking its spirit, and in breaking its spirit was

trying also to break the spirit of his people. The King at that time had the right to govern without Parliament; and he did so govern for twelve years almost as badly as the present Liberal Cabinet. He had also the right—that was decided for him in the High Court when judgment went against Hampden—to extend the incidence of existing taxation without consulting Parliament, just as Parliament to-day has the right to throw upon women a fresh weight of taxation without allowing them any say in the matter. But in doing those things, while observing the letter of the law, Charles was breaking its spirit; and when such action is persisted in by those in authority, whether Kings or Parliaments, the only right and logical answer is to break the letter in order to preserve the spirit.

Now, tyrants always believe, or are inclined to believe, that they are actuated by the highest motives, and so are blind to the tyrannical nature of their claim. Charles I. was a very conscientious tyrant; so on more recent occasions has been the House of Lords, and on still more recent occasions the House of Commons. But the democratic spirit has never allowed the self-esteem of tyrants to stand as an excuse, or to keep it from any extreme of resistance that might be necessary. But the constitutional struggle of our forefathers was in certain respects less difficult than that which the women are carrying on to-day. Then it was the many opposing the tyrannical claims of the highly organised few; and when the many themselves became organised they won as a matter of course. But now the tyrannical claim to which women are opposed is a claim which is vested not in the few but in the many; and though a good number of these are prepared to resign it with various degrees of reluctance or alacrity, they are not as thoroughly and democratically ashamed of it as they ought to be, partly because the benevolence of their intentions blinds them sentimentally to the tyranny of their claim. The problem of the women to-day, therefore, is not the blindness of one, or of 500, or even of 670 estimable gentlemen, but of millions; and the question is, how are women to "knock 'em in the eye" so as to make them see?

Well, in Tax-Resistance you have, it seems to me, an object lesson which the mind of the average man can understand, and the logic and historical consistency of which he cannot refute. Tax-Resistance says to him, "Here you shall have constantly before your eyes and conscience this fact—that there are to-day women who care so greatly for the constitutional principle for which your forefathers fought and died, that they will give up personal property and liberty so as to maintain it." It presents to the practical man, that is to say, a problem in practical politics. Here are the women making this historical protest in growing numbers. What are you going to do with them? Are you going to bruise, and break, and imprison them because of their likeness in spirit and in act to those (John Hampden and others) to whom you have to-day for similar acts of law-breaking set up statues in Parliament? Do you soberly think that persecution and imprisonment are going to beat out of these women that likeness and that kinship to those who have made the history of our Constitution what it is? If you think so you are hoping that our women will be false to the strain of blood that is in them, and your hope is utterly and entirely vain, and your repressive policy is a foolish invention born only to fail. With these women, as with the men of the past, it will be found and proved before your eyes that the jail-bird is also the bird of freedom.

During the past year many women have resisted unrepresentative taxation; and three, all honour to them, have gone to prison like Hampden in defence of that principle. Next year, if the Government introduces its Manhood Suffrage Bill, I hope that there will be three hundred; and if we fail to get the enfranchisement of women in 1912 I hope that there will be three thousand. And I am quite sure that with only three hundred you will have set up an ensign of sure and immediate victory for the Cause.

IN MEMORIAM.

Another name has been added to the roll of those who have given their lives for the cause of women's emancipation. Miss Cecilia Wolseley Haig, after a year's painful illness brought on in consequence of the terrible treatment to which she was subjected on Black Friday, passed from this life on Sunday last. When she went on the Deputation, on November 18, 1910, Miss Haig was entirely unaware of the presence of any illness, and, indeed, felt quite well. But on Black Friday she was not only subjected to assault of a most disgraceful kind, but was also trampled upon. Although Miss Haig was perhaps better known in Edinburgh, where she and her sisters worked unremittingly for the cause from the time of the imprisonment of their sister, Miss Florence Haig, the influence of her life extends far beyond any boundaries of place or time, and the thought that will be in the minds of all members of the W.S.P.U. to-day will be: How long are such sacrifices to be demanded? Her sympathies went out specially to helpless young girls. Shortly before her death she asked "Who will take care of the unprotected girls?" The sympathies of all will be with Miss Florence Haig, who nursed her sister with devoted care, and with the other members of the family. The funeral took place at Highgate Cemetery on Wednesday. Representatives of the W.S.P.U. were present, and among the wreaths was a beautiful one, in the colours of the Union, from the Committee. On a card were the words:—

"Our many thoughts and deeds, our life and love,
Our happiness, and all that we have been
Immortally must live, and burn and move,
When we shall be no more."

A wreath was also sent by the M.P.U.

THE EXPERIENCE OF FINLAND.

In a letter to the *Times* (December 28) the following interesting views with regard to the position of women in Finland are given by J. N. Reuter:—

"Finland gave the vote to women for the asking. . . . Though I have no figures at hand, I think I am not far from the truth in saying that the electorate in Finland male and female constitutes some 45 per cent. of the whole population, with some preponderance of female electors. Where statistics, concerning the attendance at the poll of male and female voters are accessible—which is not everywhere the case—it appears that a somewhat greater percentage of the men electors go to the poll, which considerably reduces the majority of the female vote, if indeed such majority exists as the final result. . . .

"Since the ballot is secret, and considering that the introduction of female suffrage, in 1906, coincided with many other very important changes, above all a vast extension of the franchise, it is difficult to ascertain the effect of female votes in regard to party issues; but the universal impression, necessarily somewhat vague in Finland, is, that the female vote has in no way influenced the balance of parties. The women, on the whole, vote as the men in their immediate environment do; or, to say the same thing in a manner more complimentary to women—and, perhaps, also nearer the truth—women record, in person, their votes in the manner they would make their men friends do if they had no vote of their own. Since there is very little electioneering and platform speaking in Finland, the home-life of women—except for those few who are working on party committees, just as they do now in England—is not affected beyond the hour they may have to wait in the queue at the polling booth. . . .

"As for women's eligibility as representatives, I think it may be taken for granted that those women actually returned were supported very largely by female votes. . . . At the first election under the new system, in 1907, 19 women members, out of 200, were returned. On a subsequent occasion as many as 25 were elected; they now number 14. Since the women, then, constitute a small percentage only it seems probable that they more fully represent the pick of their sex than do their men comrades in the House. Not having been a member of the Finnish Diet myself, I cannot speak from personal experience; but I hear from my friends in the House—hardened and level-headed business men among them—that the women acquit themselves very creditably of their task, not only in debate, but also in committee work, where their special experience often is very valuable, as concerning female labour, child legislation, education, and so on. They never constitute a disturbing element; they are less voluble in debate than men; and the average frequency of the women members' participation in debate is considerably lower than that of the men. . . .

"I will try to formulate opinions, not merely mine, but such as very largely prevail in Finland. For one thing, in adopting woman suffrage—without hardly any struggle—we have gained a distinct advantage in consolidating public opinion and in escaping an important point of controversy—a thing of great value in the present delicate political position of the Grand Duchy. But apart from this, not only does everybody agree that woman suffrage has done no harm to the community whatever, but most people decidedly believe that the work of legislation derives great benefit from the presence in the House of women members. I say most people—as far as they give the matter a thought at all. Very many do not do so, for the simple reason that woman suffrage has come to be taken as a matter of course, as part of the routine of everyday public life. . . .

"How far the experience in Finland, which, for that country, decidedly tells in favour of woman suffrage, can be adduced in support of its introduction into other countries, with more complex problems and vaster responsibilities, I am not competent to judge, nor feel I am called upon to do so."

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Boots in similar style, Orig. Price, 21/-
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AN INTERLUDE.

Our village is hidden away from the world by still woods and hills outlined with ridges of dark pine. It never, it never, saw a Suffragette until a few months ago, when Miss Dorothy Pethick, with a handful of helpers, made a flying incursion into its preserves and held a meeting which is still a theme of conversation when news filters through of stormy doings in London. They seem to be quite unaware in our village of the pain and sorrows, the turmoil and struggle of life. True, the men go every morning to the town five miles away; one sees them pass in motor-cars or walking to the little railway station. But the women—how do they contrive to fritter away the long, quiet, precious hours between dawn and sunset?

The day after the meeting at the City Temple I chanced to take the afternoon train which brings the men from the town. Our stationmaster, ordinarily the most urbane and respectful of officials, frowned truculently at my badge as he took my ticket.

"Take that thing off, miss," he said, with the surprising rudeness which every man appears to think himself entitled to exhibit to every woman if he is not pleased with her.

"I think not. I have worn it for six years, you see," I told him.

The stream of men passing through the

exit slackened, and expectant faces were turned towards us. A gentleman mounting a dog-cart affected to be busy adjusting a strap. A knot of girls returning from the golf links beyond the station listened, wide-eyed. I had an audience. How I longed for the presence of a trained expert of the Union! But I remembered that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and other women dear to me were behind prison bars, and I did my best. But I told my sister as she drove me homewards that they would never forgive us. We were newcomers, and we had dared to assail an entrenched prejudice hoary with the sanctity of antiquity.

It was three days later when I threw down my book to answer a knock at the door. A young man standing outside held out a small, dainty parcel. I recognised him as a neighbour's son—a boy with the indefinable look of a mother's close association and upbringing.

"My mater has made this for your Christmas Fair, and will you be so good as to order her a VOTES FOR WOMEN when you get your own. . . . You know," he added, confidentially, when taking his leave, "people have got, oh, quite wrong ideas about the ladies who are asking for the vote. But if my mater believes it is right for them to vote, then it must be right."

So the seed had not fallen on stony ground. Perhaps if I had been less doubting, had had more trust in the strength of my cause, I might have found that, even here, there are women who may be strongholds for the faith. I can at least make a fresh start with the new year.

AGNES CLARKE.

A STRONG SUFFRAGIST.

Mrs. Leona M. Wells, who is said to be one of the highest salaried woman employees of the American Government, and who occupies the post of clerk of one of the most important committees of the United States Senate, is a strong advocate of woman suffrage. She says she is proud that as a Wyoming woman she has a vote, and says that the Anti arguments to the effect that women do not appreciate the vote when it is theirs and do not exercise their right through lack of interest are all wrong so far as Wyoming is concerned. She has often known women ride many miles on horseback to record their vote at the polls, and as election clerk in every General Election held since she attained voting age; she maintains that the votes of women in her State have brought about many reforms and important changes.

JOAN OF ARC.

In a lecture on Joan of Arc delivered recently, Sir John Macdonell, Professor of Comparative Law at University College, said:

It is not Bruno or Servetus or Galileo or Campanella that stands out beyond all others in the long list of martyrs to legal process. It is this village maiden, with her courage, her rare union of enthusiasm and supreme sanity. The inner voices speak to her; she has visions; they do not dazzle her understanding or confuse her apprehension of practical things. One thinks of Socrates before the Heliastic Court. But, after all, we know of his demeanour mainly through the accounts of affectionate disciples; her virtues and sagacity shine out through the record prepared by enemies. The so-called recantation was a fraud and an absurdity. The impression to be derived from the trial is of a character unique in the union of sagacity, heroism, and mysticism. Her life in the invisible world did not blind her practical wisdom, conspicuous in the strange atmosphere of Courts, and doubtless also in the more familiar scenes of sieges and battles.

THE JUDGMENT OF PARISETTE.



[LORD HALDANE, SIR EDWARD GREY, and MR. LLOYD GEORGE compe'e for the Championship of the Women's Cause.]

MILITANT SUFFRAGIST: "Now, let me see, which of these three is my best friend, that I may hurl the apple at him?"

[Reproduced by the special permission of the Proprietors of "Punch."]

AS THE NEW YEAR DAWNS.

An interesting article, "The Position of Women as the New Year Dawns," appears in the *Christian Commonwealth* for January 3. It begins as follows:—

"Although the New Year finds women still unacknowledged citizens, a glance at the events of the past twelve months shows that we are entering with amazing rapidity upon a life of larger opportunities, privileges, and responsibilities. All the forces of reaction, tradition, and prejudice are still directed to hold women within the four walls of the home, to force her to stay there because she has no vocation, no money, no education, no opportunity to enter other spheres; to limit her interests to the German Emperor's three K's—'Kinder, Küche, Kirche.' But that régime belongs to an age past and gone. A nobler conception of the wife, the mother, and the woman is throbbing in human souls and wrestling for expression in our customs, laws, and social institutions. Woman must marry, not for a living, not because she has no other alternative, but because, with the world before her, love divinely compels. The home must hold her, not as a four-walled fortress from which there is no escape, but as the centre of her

universe, through which she can take a full and responsible share in the nation's life. It is only from this standpoint that we can fully appreciate the events of the past year and measure their significance."

The writer proceeds to deal with the status of women as regards wages, academic and ecclesiastical progress, law, great women of the day, encroachment of legislation, and progress in other lands, reminding his readers that "While our own country still only talks of enfranchising its women, during the year California and Washington have joined Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado in granting equal suffrage. New Zealand and Australia long since freed their women, and the northern countries followed. Norway, with Miss Anna Regstad a woman M.P.; Finland, with many women members in the Diet; Denmark with municipal franchise and many women on the town and parish councils; Sweden with municipal franchise and thirty-nine women members on town councils," while progress is being made in almost every country. After a review of the chief events of 1911 in the Suffrage agitation, the article concludes:—"The doom of masculine exclusiveness is sounded. The vote, which is the key to all that closed doors, must shortly be granted to some women. The immediate political issue is: How many women can be included in the first posse to be enfranchised?"

"THAT HEAVY MONEY BAG."

We thought the very best way of keeping Christmas would be to sing carols and earn a little for the Suffrage. So we took some fourteenth and fifteenth century carols, and our musician arranged them for three parts. One was a merry old tune in a union key, also used for a Morris dance, and one beautiful evening we set forth armed with bicycle lamps, sandwiches, and a money bag. Our masks and black hoods helped us to forget our individual twentieth century selves, and to sing in the spirit of the carols. We watched the sun sink smoky and red behind the downs, and when it was nearly dark we began to sing, lauding him; our voices into the stillness—a little startling at first.

"In dulce Jubilo . . .
Now sing we all i . . . o . . . o."

The first house we went to was a lonely one under six trees. Sometimes a shadow would be seen against the blind, and a stream of light from the doorway, and people and servants would gather in the hall. Once the door was opened by the lady of the house all in soft blue, who begged us to come inside, for she had a Christmas party for some blind folk. So we left our smoky lamps at the door, and we sang our very best at that house.

As we neared the city we were not without some small rivals, who stopped singing out of curiosity. One gentleman, as he handed us back the bag, said, "And I hope you will get it" (the Vote). We met with few rebuffs, and a good deal of encouragement.

Then the home coming, towards midnight, the old music and the stars still working their spells. Of course, it all seemed a dream the next morning, except for our weary limbs. Besides, there was that heavy money bag. . . .

A. E. T.

[The writer of this little story may be interested to know that some of the very first money obtained for the W.S.P.U. was earned by carol-singing.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

THIRTY SHILLINGS.

If one did not see them in black and white it would be almost impossible to credit the amazing leniency with which the most abominable offences committed by men are treated. An Aberdeen paper reports a case in which a working man was charged with indecently assaulting a little girl nine years old. He was found guilty and sentenced to a fine of 30s. with the alternative of fifteen days imprisonment. We need not add anything to the comment of our correspondent, who writes, "Thirty shillings for a child's soul!"

THE MORAL ASPECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By Elizabeth Redfern.

The present status of women in the direct result of their subjection as a sex, and physical deterioration and the subjection of women are naturally and closely allied. This is proved by medical and other scientific authorities, but in the scope of a short article it is only necessary to point out that in the home, the school, the business place, the process of sex-subjection is still at work.

Nowadays the process begins at home. From birth a girl is mentally and morally relegated to the sphere of ultimate subservience to man, and the Church imposes upon her obedience in marriage, and a submission and humility which are at once immoral and soul destroying. In support of man's selfish and material interests the law has placed women in the category of a man's possessions, the natural result of which is a low standard of value set upon female life. Under the marriage laws a woman, unless she possesses her own private income, becomes a serf, sacrificing every vestige of independence she formerly acquired and possessed. She possesses no legal right to any portion of her husband's earnings in return for her work. In marriage she is not the legal parent of her children, though if unmarried and therefore socially dishonoured the law makes her the responsible parent, and in the event of desertion the married wife must make herself and children paupers before her husband can be brought to account; it is in these deplorable circumstances we behold a harder process of sex-subjection and the fallacy that in the married state a woman is protected. Handicapped by social, legal, economic and political inequality it is no wonder that men look down on women save those women of their own kin, and so the cruel spirit of hypocritical rivalry has been engendered in women, so much so that the sheltered but thoughtless woman deems it virtuous to look down with scorn upon her less fortunate sister.

In the industrial field where women must work as well as men, thousands of them are unable to maintain themselves respectably, and aided by deception and seduction in the natural struggle for existence they become the reckless, despairing victims of street immorality. So long as female life is held so cheaply, and respectable people, innocent young women and girls, are so far hypnotised by the idea that these poor unfortunates are necessary for the protection of decent women against vicious men, so long as medical men lower their high calling at the expense of women's health and honour by pernicious advice to men, so long as nations cater for vice and consent to reap profit on the White Slave Traffic, and judges pass merely nominal sentences upon the violators of little girls, so long will immorality continue, and human depravity and rottenness spread until the Empire is destroyed and the race extinguished.

Herein lies the sum and substance of the Women's agitation: women want the vote because it is the symbol of sex equality, freedom and citizenship. They want the vote because it is the lever of power whereby legislation is affected to hasten reforms. They want the vote in order to blot out the stigma of sex inferiority. They want the vote because in the name of freedom and equality they will be able to retain possession of their own persons, and they want the vote in order to unite all women in one grand sisterhood which will not rest until the brotherhood of mankind has been established for mutual sympathy and helpfulness. They want the vote to deal with physical deterioration, for women know that in them lies the power of doing good in this direction when once their status is raised. While women are agitating for enfranchisement they are yearning to care for little children other than their own, for the mother-instinct is not the sole possession of one particular class of women. Women want the vote to help in the care of the feeble-minded. They wish to help their toiling sisters to help themselves against exploitation; they wish to implant courage in place of timidity. They desire to see the end of the White Slave Traffic, and in the narrow confines of the home and the wider area of their country they see the necessity for and demand equal opportunities and freedom for doing all the good they can.

THE COUNTRY CONVERTED.

Mr. Walter S. B. McLaren, M.P., writing in the *Standard* (Woman's Platform) of December 23, says:—"I have no hesitation in saying that Woman Suffrage is the greatest movement in the world at the present time, with the most far-reaching consequences. Yet it has, till lately, been almost ignored in the Press, and many people believe it is the growth of the last few years. Few men have had a better opportunity of following it than myself."

"I claim that every reform women have obtained is due to the agitation for the franchise and that each new right has strengthened their position; for they can now say that if they are judged capable of doing so much and holding so many positions, why should they not also have the simple right to the parliamentary franchise? There is no other political agitation to-day that commands so many workers, is carried on with so much ability and enthusiasm or, I believe, that can obtain such large subscriptions. . . . I claim that the country is already converted. . . . The large majority of the present Government are well-known supporters, and the pledges Mr. Asquith has given are unprecedented in parliamentary history. No sensible person believes that Woman Suffrage can be long delayed. Let us do justice now at once and remove from the minds of women the sense of grievance from which they have so long suffered."

This is the inner significance of the Women's Movement, the moral aspect of the Woman Suffrage agitation. The best men realise it and are on our side, and until British women are enfranchised they will turn neither to the right nor to the left, but pursue their course straight forward until they reach the goal.

PROLOGUE.

By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

(Written for the Actresses' Franchise League, for a Matinee at the Lyceum Theatre on October 27, 1911.)

Before the sunrise there must come the grey,
So bear with me—the prologue to the play.
Not mere diversion is our true intent,
To whisper it—on politics we're bent.
While preachers rarely to performance reach,
We at one blow shall both perform and preach.

You dream us dummies to fit dresses on,
To prop heroic mask of Amazon;
Princess or Queen, ourselves but tailors' blocks.

Or if with thoughts, then merely orthodox.
Not so; behind our mask we keep our soul,
Nor take our mimic world for the great whole.

All noble causes tax our penes and prayers.
Are all the men and women merely players,
As Shakespeare said? Then players in their turn.

Are men and women who aspire and yearn.
And is it true that all the world's a stage?
Then we would act on that and on the age.
And so we covet parts in that great play
For which the whole world is a stage to-day;
That drama with a purpose finely human,
To raise man higher by uplifting woman.

We, too, demand by love and sacrifice
To pay our quota of the grievous price.
Blind man exacts for setting women free—
Labours and pains no less than gold the fee.
The scoff, the blow, the prison—worst of all,
The bitter need like men to brawl and brawl.
And wherefore, prithee, all this monstrous ransom?

How is she not man's equal save more handsome?
In Shakespeare's day, if Cleo's voice be truth's,
His heroines were played by beardless youths.

Just fancy Rosalind a real male,
Quaffing between the acts her stoup of ale,
Or Perdita concealing manly art,
Or Desdemona shaving for the part!
Imagine some mere man for Ellen Terry—
You might as well replace champagne by sherry.

We've won equality upon the boards,
But on the world's stage men are still the lords,
Making sad mischief with their stupid swords.

The time is out of joint—let's set it right,
Not whine and wail with Hamlet "cursed spite."

That cry was merely masculine hysteria,
For real statesmanship you need Egeria.
But Hamlet was so hard soliloquising,
He had no ear for feminine advising.
Ah, if instead of suicide-suggestion,
To vote or not to vote? had been the question,
Ophelia had met, with mocking flout,
Hamlet's male insolence of snar and doubt.
Nunnery forsooth! When she at Hamlet's fat form
Could thunder suffrage from the castle-platform!

"The time is out of joint"? Then what's the cure?
Joint work of men and women, to be sure—
Joint work to foster every noble growth,
Joint work to make a better world for both.

Refuse us this, let false friends trick the nation
To burke the Bill that brings Conciliation,
Then have at you, my lords, on with the fray.
How long, O lords? Till woman has her way.

A TOUCHING GIFT.

One of the most touching gifts given to the Union during the past few weeks is a chain sent to Miss Pethick of Leicester, by a working housekeeper. It was accompanied by a letter, in which the writer says:—"I enclose a chain which I should like to be sold and the money to go to the Treasury. It was my dear mother's, and I never thought to part with it, but I have so little to give, and I think if she was here she would understand and be glad to give it. I should think the value of the chain would be between 23 and 24. I am very glad and thankful that such a brave stand was made on Tuesday last, and I greatly wish that I could make a militant protest, but my duty lies here."

MAN-MADE LAW.

A significant example of the one-sided nature of legislation framed by men without the co-operation of women is afforded by the German law relating to the guardianship of orphan children. This law provides that when the father of a child dies a legal guardian shall be appointed to look after his interests, and, among other things, see that the mother fulfils her duties. This, as a correspondent points out, is an excellent arrangement so far as it goes, but when the case is reversed, and it is the mother who dies and the father is the parent left in charge of the child, no one is appointed to see that he does not neglect his duty, though in the nature of things, he would be more likely to do so than the mother.

MRS. PANKHURST'S TOUR.

Notes from Canada and U.S.A.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has received from the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, a copy of the following cable to Mr. Asquith:—"Premier Asquith, 10, Downing Street, London, England. The National American Woman Suffrage Association protests against the introduction by the Government of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and urges the introduction of a full Suffrage Bill that shall include women."

Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to Canada a part of our own Empire, has been even more effective than her visit to the States, and that is saying much. Her quiet, convincing arguments have won many converts, and a significant and happy sign is the fair tone of the Press extracts, of which we quote a few below:—

A Canadian correspondent writes:—

"Throughout Canada the visit of Mrs. Pankhurst is approved with the profound interest of the few and the respectful attention of the many. The attitude of those Canadian women so far opposed to the idea of female suffrage is especially admirable, being marked with a quiet yet eager and sustained interest, and entirely free from prejudiced comment."

"In discussing the event of the visit of our leader with the women of Fort William, I was especially impressed with their keen desire to hear her message and to give her a generous welcome. Mr. Young, the Mayor of Fort William, had accepted the office of chairman, whilst Mr. and Mrs. Pelcher (ex-Mayor and Mayoress) and other holders of public office and distinguished persons claimed their right to be

the strongest of the strong, for she has, unmistakably and in a most remarkable degree, the strongest strength of all, strength of character. It would be difficult to imagine a woman less 'fussy.' In conversation she speaks quietly and composedly, she makes her points effectively and succinctly, never a word too little, seldom a word too much. She combines, in a really wonderful manner, the enthusiasm of the idealist with the astuteness of one who knows the world she lives in. She is a politician through and through. Indeed, think what one may of her aims or her methods, it must be owned that she has shown herself possessed of a master mind as regards political strategy, coupled with a steadfastness of purpose which is rare even among men, and the possession of which the latter are not seldom inclined to deny to women in toto."—*Toronto Weekly Star*.

The visit to Boston of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the leader of the militant movement for equal suffrage in England, is proving to be an inspiration alike to those who admire and to those who deprecate and disapprove her methods.

More than ever those who listened were forced to feel that whether these women are mistaken or wise in their methods, there is no question as to their sincerity and consecration and their wonderful ability and efficiency in organising and in outlining and executing plans.

—*Sunday Herald (Boston)*.

KANSAS.

Press despatches state that—"In Kansas men are beginning to notice the campaign of women for equal suffrage, and the politicians no longer are poking fun at the way women are perfecting their organisation. The movement is being supported by women in all grades of society, and it is considered that only the stiffest kind of a fight will prevent them from carrying the day. Politicians smiled when the Legislature passed a measure submitting the suffrage question to the voters, but are frightened at the progress being made. The women are carrying the organisation into every home, and nothing is being attempted without a certainty it can be carried out."

—*The Woman Citizen*.

"UNTIL THE LAST!"

From *Canadian Truth* for September 15 we learn that a pathetic interest attaches to the prize poem in an American contest for a National Suffrage Anthem. The writer of the winning poem was Miss Minetta Theodora Taylor, of Greencastle, Indiana, who died five days before the competition was decided. The judges were moved to tears when they read a note she had enclosed in the envelope containing her *non de plume*. She wrote:—"I would be contented to pass on beyond if I could carry with me the knowledge that I had written an acceptable anthem for the great cause which has always been so dear to me." Her poem, which will be set to music, and which is entitled "The Ballot Song of American Women," concludes:—
Let us stand together, women, hard and fast!
Let us vow to keep the faith until the last!
By the truth the world has learned,
By the falsehood it has spurned,
We will vote and rise above the vanished past.

"WOMEN WOULD NOT USE THE VOTE."

The record of the recent election at Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.—the first at which women voted—forms a beautiful page in history. Triumph at the splendid patriotism shown by women is mingled with pathos at the story of the veterans of eighty and ninety years of age who were able before they died to record their vote and to see the beginning of the new world which is to be.

At the election 95 per cent. of the women on the register voted. Election board members declared that the women not only out-voted the men in nearly all the precincts, but showed more aptitude in handling the ballots. They cast their votes more quickly; they did not need as much coaching and explaining as the men; and they worked harder than the men for their favourite candidates.

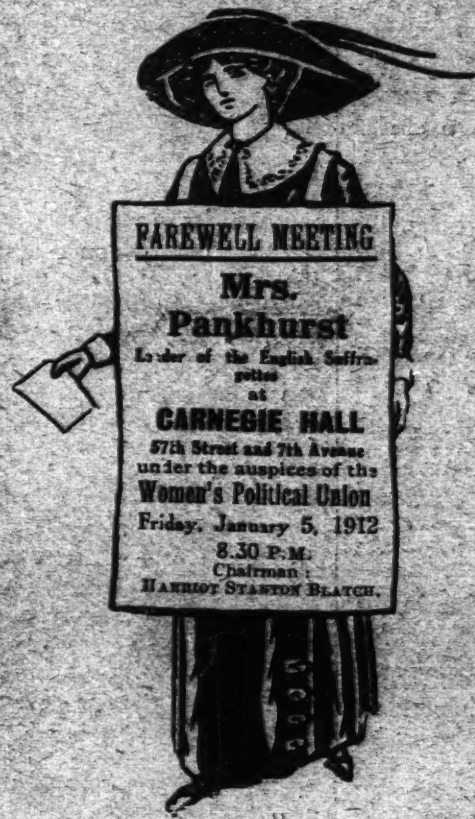
Nearly 2,000 women had been told off to organise the voting, and not one failed to carry out her allotted duty. One woman of ninety-two, her daughter, her granddaughter, and her great grandson voted; six women of over eighty-four also voted; one left a sick-bed to do so, and another came on crutches. Miss Caroline M. Severance, "mother of women's clubs," is one of the happiest, also one of the most excited, women in Los Angeles, for she saw fulfilled the dreams and struggles of nearly fourscore years when as an enfranchised American citizen she went to the polls and cast her first vote. She sang the following original hymn after casting her first vote:—

Mine eyes behold the dawning of the glad, resplendent day,
When war and strife shall cease their blind, barbarous way,
For woman comes to join her struggling knightly mates,
To make the waiting world a brotherhood of States.

Glory, glory, hallelujah,
The race goes marching on,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Till peace and joy are won.

Many men who had opposed the granting of suffrage to women are now loud in praise of their work at the polls. A touch of humour is lent by the fact that the women "antislavery" were the first to make use of their votes on behalf of their political parties.

This account of the elections is taken from different well-known newspapers such as the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Times*.



The handbill, designed by Miss Marjorie Hamilton, used for advertising the great procession of June 21, 1911, in London, was copied by our American friends for Mrs. Pankhurst's farewell meeting. It was printed in purple and green.

present on the platform during her address. Mr. Carrich, the Fort William member of the Dominion Parliament, was unavoidably prevented from being present, owing to political duties at Ottawa, but Mrs. Carrich had issued a general invitation to the women of the twin cities, in order that each and all might have the honour to meet the distinguished Englishwoman who spends her life in the endeavour to obtain for the women of Great Britain the only lever that can raise the burden of unfair conditions from the working-women of 'the old country.'

"Mrs. Pankhurst is an argumentative speaker, who appeals not to passion and prejudice, but to reason and justice. She makes friends of those who hear her."—*Toronto Daily Star*.

"Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst once more enthralled a large Toronto audience when she spoke in Massey Hall for an hour and a half on the suffrage movement in England. There were 1,500 people present and the applause was frequent and hearty, which showed the appreciation with which her lucid and logical remarks were received. . . . Anti-suffragists simply decline to go to hear her, or, if they do, succumb to the force of reason."—*Toronto World*.

"Although the Windsor Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity last night while Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst laid bare the plans of campaign that have been waged by the militant school of women suffragists, there was not during the hour and a half that she spoke one voice raised in opposition, nor was there any counter-demonstration at any time to the rounds of applause which from time to time were evoked by her statements."—*Montreal Gazette*.

"It is not too much to say that the head of the aggressive suffragists, who last Tuesday addressed a meeting at Massey Hall, is one of the really remarkable women of our day. Refined and

"THE WAR GOD" AND OTHER REVIEWS.

The critics are not infallible; they are but mortals, and as such liable to the aphorism that second thoughts are often best. Sir Herbert Tree, in his oration to the enthusiastic audience which called for "Author!" and "Speech!" at the conclusion of the first evening performance of Mr. Israel Zangwill's new experiment in dramatic art referred to this fact, and explained it by the suggestion that new departures into any field of art invariably had to stand a considerable amount of adverse criticism at first. Thus the author and the producer felt a glow of triumph at the justification of their persistence in spite of opposition. It was, moreover, an audience worth convincing which gathered at His Majesty's that Saturday night. As Sir Herbert Tree said, they sat entranced for nearly three hours and then recorded their gratitude in sincere applause.

Undoubtedly Mr. Israel Zangwill has dared greatly in setting before the world the theme of the abolition of War and the inauguration of the reign of Love and Peace in a play. It has been asserted that the drama is too didactic in tendency. Anyone who holds this view has but to turn to Addison's "Cato," and he will realise how wide of the mark is this criticism. In "Cato" the lesson is crammed into the reader's ears against the stomach of his sense. But in this modern play the theories are living theories which are being evolved and argued out before our eyes.

Again, some critics have disliked the use of blank verse throughout a modern play. This is because some people have theorised blank verse into something divine. The best proof that blank verse is a serviceable literary weapon is proved by the way people unconsciously adopt it in speaking. It is a merely arbitrary criterion which relegates it only to scenes of great tragedy or importance.

As to the acting of the play itself great praise must be given to Mr. Arthur Bourchier as the War God, and Miss Lillah McCarthy as the Goddess of Anarchy. Sir Herbert Tree in his representation of the Saint Frithiof gave us an excellent blending of the patriots Tolstoi and Ferrer.

The play may, it is true, be "caviare to the general," but it has abundance of beauty and grandeur in it to impress the discerning public.

E. W. D.

"WOMEN'S WORK IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT."

That women have the municipal franchise has long been one of the stock arguments of the Suffrage orator. Nevertheless, it is probably true that only a small proportion of the men and women concerned possess a thorough knowledge of the tangle of local authorities and franchises, rights and disabilities which compose the municipal government of the country. Those whom choice or necessity may lead to take up the study of this question will find themselves under a debt of gratitude to the author of "Women's Work in Local Government" for her simple and straightforward exposition of this complicated subject, an exposition at once brief and comprehensive, covering all necessary ground in the fewest possible words. Much useful information as to the functions and composition of the various local governing bodies and the qualifications of electors and candidates is here given lucidly, and for the most part accurately. An occasional slip occurs, as in the statement, on page 174, that "the first attempt to deal with pauperism by legislation is the Act of 1601." In reality this Act was merely an enlargement and codification of several earlier statutes.

A book so severely utilitarian in scope scarcely calls for criticism except in matters of fact, yet we find it difficult to close without protesting against the mischievous assumption running through the whole work that the sole justification for women's share in local government lies in their special fitness for the supervision or performance of certain purely "womanly" activities. Women are human beings before they are women, and their claim to municipal rights, as to the Parliamentary franchise, rests upon the fact that as human beings they are entitled to the fullest possible measure of self-government, and to the exercise of all their powers in any way not injurious to the community.

A. L.

BY BARKING CREEK.

The simplest and most effective test of the quality of a novel is its effect on the reader. Do the characters live? If they are pictured in his mind, if at the end he feels he is parting with friends, then the author has folded a piece of real life within the pages. There is no doubt about the vitality of the people in Mr. Robert

* "The War God," by Israel Zangwill. A tragedy in five acts. London, William Heinemann, 2s. 6d. net. On sale at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

† "Women's Work in Local Government (England and Wales)," by J. A. M. Brownlow. London: David Nutt. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

Halifax's book, "A Whistling Woman" (Constable, 6s.). They are ordinary people and they live in the unpoetical environment of Barking, but the story of their quiet lives is full of interest, thanks to the supreme art of the author. The story is not one that can be retold in a few lines; the main theme is the love of a man and a woman of different temperaments. With skill the author wakens all our sympathy for Lydia, the loving and unselfish woman who sees youth slipping by and happiness receding farther and farther, and who has no shame in admitting her readiness to risk all to gain life and love. At the same time we are forced to admit the wisdom of Arthur Carter's attitude. An uncongenial post at £1 a week to keep a wife and possible children—small wonder he shrinks from the responsibility which will keep him a galley-slave all his life. But the woman's instinct is right.

Many things had amazed him—not the least of them the reflection that he had been able and even content to stand on the threshold of his domestic Eden all these wasted years. For the financial bugbear was spiked—quite spiked. In some inexplicable way she made his present eighteen shillings go farther and go better for a pair than his past pound had gone for one.

The woman takes the risk and this is the result.
S. B.

WOMAN: THE RIDDLE.*

It has often been said that woman is a riddle no man can understand. Dr. Schirmacher in her latest work sets out to show us in the form of deftly worded aphorisms the cause of the riddle and its ultimate solution. "This is a book of tears and indignation" is the motto prefaced to her work, and here, with biting sarcasm, or again with delicious irony, she proceeds to lay bare all the sins and selfish follies of the sex who for generations have told us they were our superiors. We are swayed alternately to laughter and to scorn, and then, with all the descriptive power of her mother tongue, of which the author is so fine an exponent, she draws some little thumb-nail sketch which must move all but the hardest hearts to "tears and indignation." For ages women have thought the things here revealed, but have not dared to speak their minds aloud. Now, thank God, they do dare. We are often told when we thus express ourselves that we are "anti-man," and that we are creating a sex war. If there is a sex war, well, it is not of woman's making. No, it is only the pretence and hypocrisy of things we are so tired of, the endless talk of chivalry, protection and honour, of which we hear so much and see so little.

Frl. Schirmacher holds up a mirror for men to view themselves in, as regards their treatment of women all down the ages, and the reflection is not a pretty one. "Egoism," says the writer, "your name is man." And again she asks, "Who shall measure all the sins against woman's love? Who shall number the broken hearts? Who collect the bitter tears? Is it not clear as daylight that once the downtrodden sex breaks the chain she must be terrible?"

Listen, Cabinet Ministers and Men in High Places who shed shocked tears on public platforms at the "insulting" behaviour of the militants; listen, you Members of Parliament who sign protests and wring your hands in pious horror at the deeds of women. Dr. Schirmacher would make a good advisor to many modern so-called statesmen. Would they could all read her book, "mark, learn, and inwardly digest it."

This mad rage (the author continues) against the English Suffragettes is because they have taken the man-made idols of the ideal woman and hurled them from their altars. . . . When women put freedom before convention, when they demand their human birthright, then they are rebels against man's authority. Muzzle them as you would mad dogs. And so it happened in the beginning of the 20th century. And that in "Free" England.

In this idol-breaking age some throw down the gods and have nothing else to put in their place. Not so Frl. Schirmacher, an idol-breaker in truth, but when she has finished she turns with gentler hand to put up something better. The book closes with an appeal to men to let their higher nature direct them to help woman to her freedom, and to let her work with man for the salvation of the world, not as a supplement but as a complement. The solution of the riddle is easy: "Woman is a riddle to those only who will not regard her in the light of a human being."

K. Douglas Smith.

THE SOCIAL CANKER.

The exquisite delicacy with which Mr. Laurence Housman has handled a difficult subject is the first impression left by reading his speech, "The Immoral Effects of Ignorance in Sex Relations" (Women's Freedom League 4d.), obtainable from the Woman's Press. And though all have not the author's ability, all can tackle the great problems effectively if they are approached in the right spirit. Ignorance, especially that which knows and pretends not to know, is a crime in the face of the terrible evils which ruin the lives of guilty and innocent alike. Nothing can be done until private opinion becomes public opinion, and that can come only by frank discussion of social problems on the part of reformers, and by a greater confidence towards the young on the part of their teachers. This little pamphlet should set many thinking, and it should be brought to the notice of those who pretend that a canker should be left alone to spread itself in the darkness.

* "Das Hölzer-Werk." By Käthe Schirmacher. Weimar: Alexander Duncker. 3 marks.

THE MAID.*

The history of France from 1428 to 1431 is practically the history of Joan of Arc, and those who wish to follow the sequence of events leading up to the mysterious appearance of the shepherd girl at the court of Charles, and to study the episodes of those wonderful three years of her life, should read "The France of Joan of Arc," by Col. Haggard. So enthusiastic is the author with his subject that he seems to regret only that Joan was, after all, human. "When," he says, "a woman has reached the stage to speak as a connoisseur of the weapons with which she delivers death-blows to fellow-mortals, the bloom has been rubbed off the peach." If there are hard knocks to be given in the cause of righteousness, say we, blessed are they who know how to deal them, and deal them straight. But this is evidently not Col. Haggard's view—where women are concerned. The picture of the Maid, after Mr. Blake Wirgman, which forms the frontispiece, adds very greatly to the charm of the book.

SHORT REVIEWS.

"The Human Compass,"† by Bart Kennedy, is a collection of papers on the various points—the cynical, humorous, imaginative, adventurous, &c., of our human, well, compass. Judging from these, Bart Kennedy seems growing more mellow, more diffusive, perhaps less incisive and, shall we say, original? At any rate, he has lost his specific mannerisms. The essays are bright, chatty, undisturbing.

"Pixie Pool: A Mirage at Deep and Shallows"‡ (Edmund Vale), is a small book of fairy stories, with illustrations by E. R. Herrmann. The stories are slight, graceful, and deal with such poetical subjects as Starbeams, Morning Waves, the Daughters of Sleep, the Tear Star.

"Woman at Work: a Study of the Different Ways of Earning a Living Open to Women"§ (M. Mostyn Bird), gives a good résumé of the various fields of woman's work—from the manual worker at an average of 7s. 6d. weekly, the factory hand at 10s. to 15s. weekly, to the lady doctor, whose training alone will cost her some £200 to £300. Any girl at the outset of her career would be well advised to study its pages before deciding upon her choice of work. The keynote of advice is Thoroughness in training and in work. The author considers that the idea of the "possible husband" must still be often blamed for giving a girl "dreams and visions in place of a man's concentrated purpose."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Mere Man." By Margaret Dalham. London: Messrs. Bennet and Co. (Century Press). Price 2s. 6d.

"The New Treatment of the Mind." By R. Domain Grauge. London: Messrs. Bennet and Co. (Century Press). Price 3s.

"Child Nurture." By Honor Morten. London: Mills and Boon, Ltd. Price 6s.

"Captivity." By Roy Horniman. London: Methuen. Price 6s.

"The Catholic Directory." London: Burns and Oates, Ltd. Price 1s. 6d. net.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

A hearty invitation is accorded to the London weekly Monday afternoon meetings, which will be resumed at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, on Monday, January 15, at 3.15 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst will be one of the speakers. The weekly meetings at the Steinway Hall will be resumed on Thursday, January 18, at 8 p.m. Weekly meetings are also held in all centres where the W.S.P.U. are represented; for particulars see page 229.

Mrs. Pankhurst.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who is expected in England in about a week, will also address the following important meetings:— Ipswich, Wednesday afternoon, January 17; St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich, on the evening of the same day; Yarmouth Town Hall, Thursday, January 18; Baths Assembly Hall, Leamington, Tuesday, January 23; Walsall, Thursday, January 25.

Speakers' Class.

Our readers are reminded that the Speakers' Class will be resumed at 4, Clements Inn, on Friday next, January 12, at 7.45 p.m. (See page 230.)

For an announcement as to release of prisoners, see p. 236.

* "The France of Joan of Arc." By Lieut.-Col. Haggard. London: Stanley Paul. 18s. net.

† "The Human Compass," by Bart Kennedy. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd. 6s.

‡ "Pixie Pool," by Edmund Vale. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 2s. net.

§ "Woman at Work." By M. Most, n. Bir. l. London: Chapman and Hall, 6s. net.

THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 156, CHARING CROSS RD., W.C.

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WOMAN AND LABOUR, by OLIVER SCHREINER, 8s. 6d. net.

THE SUFFRAGETTE, by STYLIA PANKHURST, 2s. net.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, by G. R. STIRLING TAYLOR, 7s. 6d. net.

LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE, by JOSEPH CLAYTON, 12s. 6d. net.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ENGLISH WOMEN, by LYON BLEASE, 6s. net.

MARRIAGE AS A TRADE, by CICKLY HAMILTON, 6s. net.

WOMAN'S FIGHT FOR THE VOTE, by R. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Cloth 1s. net, paper 6d. net. &c., &c.

Three Works of Fiction, of special interest in connection with the Woman's Movement.

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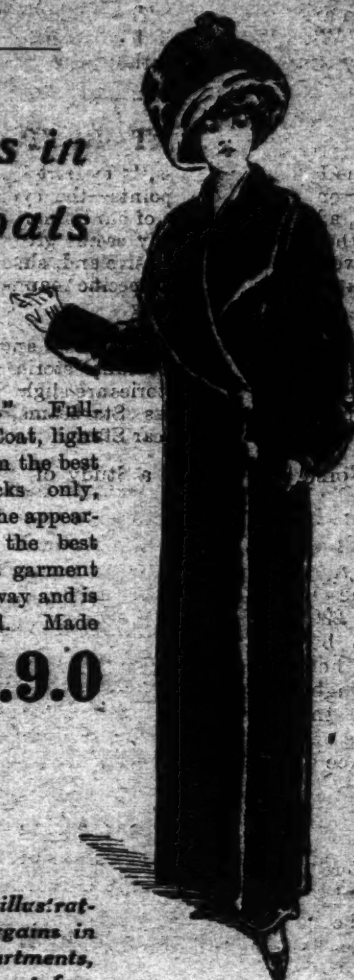
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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN. MARCHING PAST!

Speaking of growth and development among young Englishmen, do you ever stop to consider how in this respect they are lagging behind their sisters? Fifteen or twenty years ago foreign visitors to England were quite sure to note the superior intelligence of Englishmen to Englishwomen. They would tell you that they liked Englishwomen—oh, yes, quite charming were our women, but they were rather dull, most especially the younger and unmarried ones. Even as recently as ten years ago this remark might have been made with some justification. A decade ago the average young Englishman was dull, but his average sister was duller. There were "blue-stockings" in those days, of course, learned young women who disdained the Binomial Theorem, and went in for being Senior Wranglers and carried off honours of various sorts. Yet, with all their learning, they too, were dull. Perhaps it was their learning that made them so, and many of them were by way of being unendurable prigs. Do you remember how you and I used to meet them—and flee from them?

But these days there are learned young women still, and they are different. Their knowledge sits more gracefully upon them, and they add to their wisdom the art of being interesting. Take also young Englishwomen as a whole. What foreigner or home-dweller could call them stupid now or inferior to their brothers? They have grown, they have developed, they have progressed—not gradually, but fairly by leaps. Personally, I see no improvement of the present day young men under twenty-five over the young men of the same age of ten years ago. There seems to be much of a sameness about them. I can shut my eyes and listen to them talk and note not the slightest difference between them and their now elder brothers whom I knew of yore. Those brothers who were so insufferable at twenty-five are grown up to be real men of thirty-five and forty now, and these younger boys are talking about the same things in the same manner from the same old-time attitude of self-conceit and cocksureness.

I find no such similarity between the present girl of between twenty and twenty-five and the girl of the same age whom I knew ten years ago, while as for the present-day woman of thirty, she is an absolutely different creature from what she would have been at the same age ten years ago.

In a word, our young women are growing, and, as I said before, not gradually, but leapingly, springingly. Watch them, and you note that they grow while you are looking at them. Put your ear to the ground at their feet and you will actually hear them grow. There are certain fearful prophets who, watching this remarkable process, shake their heads and feel doubtful about the future of England, since there seems danger that these ambitious young women, with their wide-open eyes, their outstretched hands, and their proudly lifted chins, refuse to mate and bear sons and daughters to populate the Empire.

Refuse to mate! Fear not, oh, ye of little faith and blinded eyes! Not one of all this brilliant company of women will ever refuse that, for woman was meant to mate, and mate she will, unless she is denied the opportunity. I grant you that she may refuse to marry far more often than she has dared to refuse heretofore, since she will demand to be matched as well as married, and she will wait for marriage till she finds her peer.

Is such a situation, then, alarming? Yes; it is alarming, unless the young men of England wake up and rub their eyes and begin to read the writing on the wall. Here, let me help them to decipher that writing, which readeth somewhat thus:

"Your sisters are marching past you, and it behoveth you to look alive!"

—Enid, in the *Referee*.

When Miss Christabel Pankhurst declared the other day that "the glorification of the male, just because he is a male, is a plunge into barbarism," she showed herself more of a rhetorician than an anthropologist. For even the masculine scientist cannot conceal the awkward fact that the female is the permanent type and male the variable type, and that in the beginning there was not even a rudimentary separate masculine entity. The other night, at dinner, I was assured by an eminent Cambridge anthropologist that it was only when barbaric peoples began to enclose spaces and sow cereals that matriarchy was abolished, the man then suddenly evincing a desire to recognise his own offspring in order to leave them the property he had painfully acquired. From this pious wish to the entailed estate system in modern Britain is but a step in human evolution, and our remote descendants may see woman settling everything with a high hand, just as she did when sentient life began to emerge from the wobbly protoplasm. —Ella Hepworth Dixon in "The Sketch."

As there has been some misunderstanding of the position in Iceland, it is interesting to learn from an authentic source that the Icelandic women have a good prospect of receiving their citizen rights next year. All the parties are in favour of full suffrage for women, but by the constitution the motion for adult suffrage, which was passed last spring, must pass unchanged in two althings or Parliaments.

In our issue of October 13 we gave an account of the case of Miss Jessie Brown, who was charged and convicted in 1907 of soliciting for prostitution; after producing medical evidence she succeeded in having the conviction quashed, but received no compensation and no legal vindication of the terrible charge. The Personal Rights Association, 11, Abbeville Road, London, S.W., have worked bravely on her behalf with no satisfactory result, and they have now printed the whole correspondence with the Government in pamphlet form. Mr. Mabon, of Glasgow, writes to us, also, stating that Miss Brown's case was first purposely delayed by the officials concerned, and that they now contended she has no claim as she did not bring the action within the statutory time.

An interesting survey of the feminist movement in France, by Miss Constance Aston, appeared in the *Standard* (Woman's Platform) on December 29.

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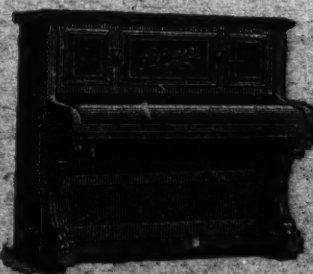
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The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 5, 1912.

DO UT DES.

(I give that you may give.)

In a notable speech (September, 1878), the great Chancellor of the German Empire, Bismarck, pointed out to his Parliament that the basis of all political negotiation was the principle *do ut des*—(I give that you may give). He proceeded to refute a statement made by Bebel concerning an alleged political understanding arrived at between himself (Bismarck) and the Socialist orator Lassalle, by saying: "He (Lassalle) had nothing which he could have given me as a Minister. . . . He was not a man with whom definite agreements upon the basis of *do ut des* could be concluded."

In other words, he who has nothing in his hand of political value to give or to withhold, is without the means of entering into any political transaction with the Government of the day. It stands to reason that his claims will be passed over in favour of the claims of those who have it in their power to strengthen or to weaken the Ministry.

We see the dictum of Prince Bismarck concerning the *do ut des* principle of practical politics exemplified on every hand in the political world at the present time. Two or three cases drawn from the immediate situation at home will suffice to illustrate the fact.

When the Liberal Party in 1906 found themselves in power with a majority so great that they were independent of the Irish vote in the House of Commons, they showed no disposition whatever to touch the question of Home Rule or to commit themselves in any way to the Irish Party. But when in 1910 the Government realised that, owing to the heavy reduction of its majority, it was in the power of the Irish Party to give or to withhold the support which was necessary to its secure tenure of office, when it realised, moreover, that only one price would procure that support, it immediately opened negotiations with the Irish Party and committed itself to the introduction of a Home Rule Bill for Ireland. No principle other than the principle of *do ut des* would have availed the Irish people in their struggle for national self-government.

Again, so long as the Welsh Party put loyalty to Liberalism above every other political consideration, so long as they were prepared to give political support without exacting political dues, just so long was their demand for Welsh Disestablishment practically ignored. But when the Welsh deputation said, in effect, to the Prime Minister: "We have given, in the belief that you were prepared to give; henceforward we shall withhold if you withhold," on that day Welsh Disestablishment became practical politics.

The negotiations that took place prior to the introduction of Mr. Lloyd George's National Insurance Bill afford a third obvious illustration of the working of the *do ut des* principle. It was essential to the Government to gain the support of the Friendly Societies, with their hundreds of thousands of organised voters who comprise their membership. For this support the Government had to make great concessions and to give large material benefits; indeed, to a very large extent, the Friendly Societies were able to dictate the terms of the Bill. This fact has been a main cause of the trouble that has arisen with respect to the medical profession. At a somewhat late hour of the day the doctors have discovered the *do ut des* principle. It has dawned upon them that it is in their power to give or withhold their co-operation which is indispensable to the success of the Sick Insurance scheme. If they are united and determined we shall see the Government forced to give way and to concede all the conditions demanded by the medical profession.

No principle other than the principle of *do ut des* will avail women in their political struggle for enfranchisement. Never, in connection with any franchise

reform, has a constitutional agitation been carried on that can be compared for organisation, for enthusiasm, or for national scope, with the women's agitation. Never have there been such representative or such great processions, never so many outdoor and indoor demonstrations, assisted by audiences so vast. A comparable agitation carried out by voters in whose power it lay to give or withhold electoral support to the Government would have been accompanied by success long before the movement could have reached the stage of development to which the Woman's Movement has now attained.

From the political point of view there is only one weakness in our constitutional agitation. It is that voteless women have next to nothing of political value to give, and nothing to give or to withhold from the Government in power. Therefore in respect of our constitutional status, and of our constitutional agitation, the Government has little inducement to enter into any political treaty with us on the *do ut des* basis.

It is then essential that we obtain and hold possession of some bargaining medium, either gift or weapon; something that the Government of the day desires to get from us, but can only get by political transaction. For so long as we come empty handed with our petitions, just so long shall we see ourselves passed over in favour of those who are able to confer support or to give trouble.

It was the instinctive realisation of the underlying principle of *do ut des* in all practical politics that led to the adoption of militant tactics in 1905, and, to the subsequent militant campaign in the succeeding six years. Militancy is a weapon that the Government would fain induce us to hand over. True, it is a weapon with a double edge, and wounds the hand that uses it; but that is the accepted price of its acquirement. It hurts the Government above and beyond any power of retaliation which the Government possesses. The very imprisonment of hundreds of women in connection with an agitation for political liberty seriously damages the prestige of the political party in power.

That the leaders of the Liberal Party are prepared to make concessions with the intent of inducing us to surrender this weapon of militancy has been conclusively proved by recent action upon their part. The period of militant action has been the period of political negotiation between the Government and the Suffragist Party.

This desire to make terms in order to avert militancy was especially exemplified in the spring of 1911. It was at that time made perfectly clear by the W.S.P.U. that any attempt to remove the Conciliation Bill from the protection of the Parliament Act and to postpone facilities until 1913 would mean an outbreak of militancy coincident with the arrival of the Inter-Imperial and International guests to our shores in connection with the Coronation celebrations.

In order to secure peace at a time when the eyes of the world were especially directed upon this nation, a series of pledges was made. A vague promise was given by Mr. Lloyd George, and was rejected. A further promise was made by Sir Edward Grey, and was not considered satisfactory. A perfectly definite and emphatic pledge was then given to the Chairman of the Conciliation Committee by Mr. Asquith, that full facilities should be accorded to the Conciliation Bill in 1912, and that this promise should be fulfilled not only in the letter but in the spirit. Thereupon a temporary truce was obtained on the implied principle of *do ut des*. Although there was no direct negotiation as between two parties, yet the result aimed at was attained. The W.S.P.U. accepted the pledge and gave up militancy for a definite period and upon definite conditions, which were clearly explained in **VOTES FOR WOMEN**.

The announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill has, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, "torpedoed the Conciliation Bill." Thus has the Government broken its pledge in the spirit, if not in the letter.

In presenting a Manhood Suffrage Bill to the country, it is extremely important from the point of view of the Government that the proposition should not be encountered by the direct opposition of women. In order to buy off this opposition, the head of the Government has offered women a chance of being included in the Bill, if an amendment in their favour can be carried by an open vote in the House of Commons. Certain sections of the Suffragist Movement have accepted the offer and have thereby averted from the Government all the moral danger or loss that could possibly arise from their opposition. Their sense of the value of anything that they have to give or to withhold must be small indeed since they are content with so beggarly an exchange. We deplore their acceptance both for their sake and our own. For their defection has made negotiation on the principle of *do ut des* more difficult. Nevertheless, we have and hold in our possession the weapon of militancy, and it is stronger and sharper to-day than ever before. We will surrender it when the Government inserts a clause giving equal franchise rights to men and women as a part of its Reform Bill. Till then we are resolved to continue this war for political liberty, confident that at no very distant date we shall be able to conclude an honourable and a lasting peace upon the firm political basis, *do ut des*.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN NEW ZEALAND.

By Lady Stout (wife of the Chief Justice of the Country).

From time to time one is met by the statement that the enfranchisement of New Zealand women has had no effect except on Temperance Reform. When legislation affecting women and children is mentioned, one finds that complete ignorance of its significance and purport prevails amongst otherwise well-informed people. One reason is that law-abiding persons and others whose interests are confined to their own pursuits and amusements do not take the trouble to investigate the conditions of life by which they are surrounded. Another reason is that the women's vote in New Zealand has never been a "sex vote," and was secured by the goodwill and co-operation of men and women without arousing any bitter sex antagonism.

Men of worth of both parties have always been ready and willing to develop the woman's point of view in legislation for the improvement of the social, economic, and industrial conditions of women and children. Any restrictions, and there are many, that have been imposed upon women's labour and hours of work, have been in the interest and with the full concurrence of the workers themselves.

The following list of Acts will show that it is well for the home and the State to be governed by the united vote of men and women:—

An Act to admit women to practise at the Bar.

University Act, making absolute equality for men and women in education, scholarship and degrees.

Education Act—equality of both sexes. (Co-education which is universal in the Primary, Secondary and University education, except in High Schools and Private Schools, has proved an unqualified success.)

Compulsory Attendance at Continuation Schools Act—equality for boys and girls.

Technical Schools Act—equality for both sexes.

Old Age Pensions.

Servants' Registry Office Act.—This Act, which makes it compulsory for Registry Offices to be licensed, ensures the safety of young girls and prevents the danger of white slave traffic. A writer in the *Morning Post*, in belittling this Act, is evidently unaware of its significance.

The Adoption of Children Act.—No pretexts being allowed to adopting parents, and a magistrate's sanction being required, safeguards children from cruelty and neglect.

The Protection of Children Act.—Strict regulations and the inspection of boarded-out children prevents baby-farming.

The Destitute Persons Act makes the maintenance of relatives compulsory, and removes burdens from the Charitable Aid Boards and the ratepayers, besides increasing individual responsibility.

The Testator's Family Maintenance Act empowers the Supreme Court to cancel any will which does not make sufficient provision for the testator's wife, husband, or family.

The Succession Act provides a fair division of property to wife, husband, or family. There is no male entail, and landed as well as personal property can be equally divided.

The Inalienable Annuities Act ensures maintenance for defective and invalid children, and prevents their portion being seized for debt.

The Maintenance Act provides for the maintenance of wife and family, and makes provision for maintenance orders being enforced in adjacent colonies. It also makes provision for wages to be paid to prisoners for the maintenance of wife and family. A woman can sue for maintenance while living with her husband.

The Industrial Schools Act provides schools for criminal or neglected children, from which children are boarded out and their wages banked by the Government. Subsidies are paid to private bodies which maintain industrial schools and orphanages, but all such schools must be under Government inspection.

The Maternity Homes Act provides a fortnight's accommodation in a Maternity Home. Visiting midwives and maternity allowances to expectant mothers are provided for women in their own homes.

Subsidies are paid to the Salvation Army and other bodies for rescue and reformatory work.

A deserting husband or the putative father of an expected illegitimate child may be prevented from leaving the country.

The Criminal Amendment Act ensures adequate punishment for sexual offences—from five years to life imprisonment, with floggings, is given according to the seriousness of the offence and the age of the victim. (The indeterminate sentence makes possible life imprisonment for moral imbeciles, degenerates of both sexes, and habitual criminals.)

The Prison Reform Act substitutes reformatory for punitive methods in dealing with offenders.

The First Probation Offenders Act has been the means of saving many offenders from a criminal career.

The Indecent Publication Act is used to suppress indecent pictures and immoral literature and plays.

The Shop Assistants Act protects the health and wages, and regulates the hours of shop assistants.

The National Provident Fund Act provides for a contributory form of insurance.

The Juvenile Smoking Act prevents indulgence in cigarettes by boys under sixteen.

The Children's Court Act has been in operation for some years, and has been the means of much kindly and preventive work amongst juvenile offenders.

The Divorce Act makes the conditions for divorce equal for both sexes. In it there is a provision by which in the case of a husband suing for divorce, if it is proved that his unfaithfulness had driven the wife to a similar act, the divorce can be refused. In the case of the wife suing for divorce the same rule applies.

Women can get compensation for slander, under the Women's Slander Act, without having to prove that the slander has damaged their reputation.

The Municipal Elections Act provides that both husband and wife have a vote in the qualification of the one or other.

The Legitimation Act is similar to the Act in Scotland by which a child may be legitimised on the marriage of the parents and receive equal shares in property, equal rights and the status of a legitimate child. Provision is made for the distribution of the estates of illegitimate children to the mother and her relatives to the exclusion of the father and his relatives. Illegitimate children can be registered in the name of the father. There are many other Acts which safeguard the lives and well-being of children.

The influence of the women's vote is seen and felt in all our legislation, although no attempt has even been made to arouse sex antagonism. The sense of justice which prevails, and which insists upon the punishment of the guilty party instead of his victim, in cases of seduction, has attained a high level in New Zealand.

There are many cases in which the voice of honest indignation has been raised against the man whose neglect and selfishness have driven a shamed and hunted girl to desperation, which clearly prove that the tone of morality has been raised and the sense of justice aroused in men as well as women.

The Factory Laws which provide equal pay for equal work for men and women, and ensure healthy conditions of work and a minimum wage of £1 5s. per week for women, which have made sweating impossible, show the benefits working women have received as the direct or indirect result of the power of the vote. I have the testimony of Mr. Tregear, who was head of the Government Labour Department for twenty years, to the effect that the present generation of women think that things were always as satisfactory, and have forgotten that their mothers had to work for so little wages and so long hours as their employers willed.

The Compulsory Military Training Bill, which has had the hearty support of the women of the Dominion, was welcomed as a protection to their homes. The provision in the Bill for the exclusion of alcohol from the military camps was insisted upon as a safeguard from temptation to their sons.

The Temperance regulations which have reduced crime and drunkenness in the districts in which they are enforced are an example of the voting woman's foresight and care for the future of her children and her home.

Sir Joseph Ward has made a proposal to the New Zealand Parliament to add fifty per cent. to old age pensions, when the pensioners have children under sixteen years of age, and to pay 7s. 6d. to 10s. per week to widows, irrespective of age, who have young children. No doubt the proposals will be carried as they are acceptable to women voters, who have to be reckoned with at the coming General Election.

The real power of the woman's vote in New Zealand is not in opposition, but in its harmony and co-operation with the men's vote. A house divided against itself cannot stand, but the united and loyal comradeship of men and women have secured for New Zealand reforms in legislation which are making the Dominion a paradise for men as well as women and children.

(Lady Stout's Second Article will appear next week.)

THE REFORMER.

I am a tool in mighty hands;
Though of myself no strength have I,
Yet if He strike with me, the lands
Shall reel and the great mountains cry.

And if He use me as His torch,
My heat shall drink the eternal waves,
And the hot tongue of flame shall scorch
The hidden depths of ocean caves.

If as a lamp He make me shine,
My glow shall pale each fire afar,
Irradiate with light divine
The space beyond the utmost star.

And if, when He His power has shown,
He lay me by, as in most meet,
I take the place that is my own
Amongst the dust beneath His feet.

J. J. F.

* No boy or girl is employed under fifteen years of age, or from 6 p.m. to 5 a.m., and there are no half-timers.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

December 18 to December 30.

*Already acknowledged £112,755 3 4	Mrs. Monaghan..... 0 15 4
Miss Beatrice Pollitt..... 0 2 0	Miss Stewart (travel-ling expenses)..... 0 2 0
Miss E. A. Bloomfield..... 0 10 0	Per Miss C. Marsh..... 0 3 0
Mrs. F. R. Hazard..... 10 0 0	Mrs. Casher..... 0 3 0
Miss Jane Forest..... 1 0 0	Miss Baldwin..... 0 1 0
Miss M. Glasspool..... 2 0 0	Mrs. Hewitt..... 0 1 0
Miss Jane Allen..... 10 0 0	Portsmouth "Wel-come" Tea (profit)..... 1 2 3
Miss Alice Halliday..... 3 0 0	Southampton do..... 0 15 6
Miss L. R. Bruce..... 0 2 0	Profit on Sale..... 3 16 10
Miss Harrison..... 0 1 0	Goods Sold..... 0 7 1
Miss I. C. Gorrie..... 2 0 0	Miss Peacock..... 0 4 0
Bracelet given at Albert Hall..... 1 0 0	Per Miss L. Mitchell..... 1 0 0
"A Christmas Box"..... 0 10 0	Miss Emily V. Fussell..... 1 0 0
"E. B." (two sisters)..... 0 5 0	Extra on V. f. W..... 0 0 7
Miss M. Balchin..... 1 0 0	Cake and Candy Sale..... 10 0 4
Mrs. Bridgen..... 0 5 0	Miss Duff (trav. exps.)..... 0 2 10
Dr. L. Garrett Anderson..... 100 0 0	Mrs. Bryant (do.)..... 0 2 10
Miss Alice Baxter..... 1 1 0	Miss Clark (sale of Toffy)..... 0 4 0
A Friend..... 1 1 0	Miss L. Burns, B.A..... 0 14 2
Mrs. Goddard..... 0 10 0	Miss Lila Mitchell..... 1 0 0
Miss Edith Johnson..... 1 0 0	Miss M. Low..... 0 10 0
Miss Edith Wilson..... 1 0 0	Mrs. Webster..... 0 2 2
John Robertson, Esq..... 0 1 4	Miss Walton..... 1 0 0
The Misses McGowan..... 0 5 0	Mrs. Mitchell..... 1 15 0
Extra on "V. f. W." at Tottenham Court Rd..... 5 3 0	M. Rhind..... 1 0 0
Miss C. Williamson..... 0 5 0	Per Miss A. Norton..... 0 5 0
Miss M. B. Palmer..... 0 19 6	Mrs. D. Ock..... 0 3 0
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement..... 50 0 0	Mrs. Edwards..... 0 3 0
Mr. and Mrs. Frank Rutter..... 1 0 0	Mrs. King..... 0 1 0
Miss O. Proctor (in memory of Mrs. Clarke)..... 0 5 0	Anon (trav. exps.)..... 0 5 0
Mrs. H. Martin..... 0 1 0	Anon (tram fare saved)..... 0 2 0
Miss M. E. Lowndes..... 20 0 0	Miss Portsmouth..... 0 1 0
I. Nahum..... 2 0 0	Profit on literature..... 0 14 0
Miss Lillian Strachan (for autographs)..... 0 14 0	Profit on refreshments..... 0 2 9
Miss Jane Whitaker..... 5 0 0	Per Miss F. Parker..... 0 4 0
Mrs. Mary Willock..... 10 0 0	"In administration of Glasgow protesters"..... 3 0 0
Mrs. Mildred Townshend..... 1 0 0	Cake and Candy Sale..... 35 14 4
H. T. Dumas Man, Esq..... 0 10 0	Miss T. M. Chapman (part proceeds lantern lecture)..... 0 10 6
Frau Paula Messer..... 0 10 0	Mrs. Craig..... 0 4 0
Mrs. Angela Whiteley (from sale of "V. f. W." at "Three Arts Ball")..... 0 2 6	Miss Ingelton..... 0 5 0
Mrs. Bertha Lorisignol..... 0 7 6	Jumble Sale..... 0 9 0
Madame Alice Rivers..... 0 4 0	Supper to prisoners (proceeds)..... 0 10 6
Mrs. Katherine C. Leah..... 2 0 0	Telephone Call..... 0 0 6
Miss C. Wedgwood..... 10 0 0	Town Crier..... 0 2 0
Miss L. E. Lyons..... 0 6 0	Cake and Candy Sale..... 0 5 0
Per Miss L. Ainsworth..... 0 2 6	Miss Barrowman (ret'd exps.)..... 0 6 0
Miss S. Brown..... 0 5 0	Miss M. Barrowman (do.)..... 0 6 0
Anon..... 0 1 0	Anon..... 0 2 0
A Friend (per Miss Sutherland)..... 0 2 6	Mrs. John..... 1 0 0
Mrs. Hollender..... 0 4 6	Mrs. Boyd..... 0 9 10
Travelling expenses..... 0 12 0	Mrs. Lang Rosemeath..... 0 8 6
Teas..... 0 11 2	J. Sample, Esq..... 0 8 0
Sale of cakes..... 2 1 9	The Misses McArthur..... 0 9 10
Goods sold in shop..... 70 5 0	Mrs. Russell..... 0 15 3
Mrs. Taylor..... 0 11 0	Per Miss Fraser Smith..... 0 1 0
Per Miss D. Boucher..... 0 11 6	Mrs. Carmichael..... 0 5 0
Profit on teas..... 0 11 6	Miss Inglis..... 0 5 0
Profit on shop..... 1 0 0	Christmas Fair and Fete. Miss Scrub..... 0 5 0
Mrs. Darent Harrison..... 0 10 0	Per Mrs. D. Evans..... 0 5 0
Mrs. Sleeking..... 2 2 0	Mrs. Burdett (per)..... 0 5 0
Per Mrs. L. Byrne..... 0 2 6	Miss Burdett..... 0 1 0
Miss J. M. Campbell..... 0 5 0	Sale of Goods..... 0 14 0
Miss Lucy Burns..... 1 0 0	Mrs. Parker..... 2 2 0
Mrs. Brown (trans. sub.)..... 1 0 0	Miss Saxelby..... 0 1 0
"A Disgraced Liberal" Christmas Sale (proceeds)..... 24 5 2	Per Mrs. L. Burns..... 0 5 8
Miss M. Kemp..... 0 5 0	Tho. Misses Dempster..... 0 3 0
Miss L. A. Robertson..... 0 2 6	Tho. Misses Fishhill..... 0 3 0
Miss H. M. Logan..... 0 2 6	Miss Lucy Burns..... 1 2 0
Miss A. S. Macdonald..... 0 1 0	Miss K. Kemp..... 0 1 0
Miss J. O. Methven..... 10 0 0	Mrs. E. Gye Bullock..... 0 1 0
Miss A. A. Marshall..... 0 5 0	Miss Helen M. Logan..... 0 1 0
Miss Ramsay..... 0 2 0	Miss Manu..... 0 1 0
Miss F. E. McFarlane..... 0 3 0	Miss Morag Burn..... 0 1 0
Miss H. M. Murray..... 1 0 0	Murdoch..... 0 1 0
Miss Topping..... 0 2 6	Sale of Flags, etc..... 2 3 6
Miss Ferguson Smith..... 0 2 0	Membership Fees..... 5 12 0
Miss Young..... 0 1 0	Collections, etc..... 57 6 1
Per Mrs. D. Evans..... 0 0 5	London..... 4 6 7
Extra on "V. f. W." Given to Street Seller..... 0 2 6	Per Miss L. Ainsworth..... 4 6 7
Mrs. Blackman..... 1 0 0	Per Miss R. Barrett..... 1 1 4
Programmes..... 0 4 9	Per Miss D. Bowler..... 0 6 8
Sale of Chocolates..... 0 3 10	Per Miss L. Burns..... 2 7 9
Miss Reid..... 0 1 0	Per Miss D. Evans..... 16 2 0
Mrs. Simpson..... 0 0 8	Per Miss S. Flahman..... 0 4 9
Per Miss S. A. Flahman..... 9 17 3	Per Mrs. Mansel..... 1 9 2
Sale of Work..... 0 12 8	Per Miss C. Marsh..... 0 5 0
Profit on Literature..... 0 4 6	Per Miss L. Mitchell..... 3 5 4
Per Mrs. Mansel..... 0 4 6	Per Miss M. Norton..... 0 4 9
Tea Profits..... 0 5 8	Per Miss F. Parker..... 13 16 0
Sales in Shop..... 1 18 9	Per (Bye Elec.)..... 11 16 5
Special Xmas Fund from Members..... 1 18 9	Per Miss Fraser Smith..... 1 0 3

Total £112,329 11 8

* Alteration in above total is due to error in issue of December 15. Item "Miss Alice Heale, £3" should be £2.

Cheques should be made out to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and crossed "Barclay and Co."

THE NEXT PROTEST.

Week by week the names of volunteers for the next militant protest come in. We give below two typical letters from volunteers:—

Will you kindly put my name on the list for the next protest? I came out of prison last week, and I must say that whatever sacrifice and suffering the confinement entailed was amply made up for by the thoughts of the great cause at stake, and the certain victory which constancy and perseverance must win. Far from damping my courage, imprisonment has served to fan the flame of loyalty and eagerness to join in the protest. Please accept every assurance of loyalty, devotion, and goodwill.

It has taken me four years to screw my courage to militant pitch, but it is done now. Miss Evelyn Sharp's speech at the Savoy Theatre finally shamed me out of my cowardice. I, too, am a writer; I have lived in imagination just those dark hours; I have been afraid of fear. One by one Miss Sharp knocked over the obstacles I had raised for myself—little ninetins of art and temperament. They are gone; please put my name down for the next deputation.

Names of volunteers should be sent to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, at 4, Clements Inn.

A MESSAGE FROM MISS DECIMA MOORE.

My thoughts are with you and all who are working for our great cause. It may interest you to know that in my travels in Nigeria I find the warmest support for us in bush-camp, village, and town.

DECIMA MOORE.

Lagos, Southern Nigeria.

SOME NOTES ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

LADY CONSTANCE LYTON ON THE SITUATION.

In a masterly article in the *Standard* ("Woman's Platform") of December 30, Lady Constance Lytton shows the futility of merely unofficial support for Woman Suffrage, and the absolute necessity that the question be made a Government measure. She says: "A wedge has a different effect, according to whether it is applied to an opening door or, in the opposite direction, to a door already closed. The Conciliation Bill is such a wedge. While some injustices are still unrectified in the franchise for men their advocates cannot entirely ignore the much greater, much more urgent, needs of women. But with the franchise door finally shut at the complete satisfying of men's needs, the Conciliation Bill for women would also be sealed by the resulting spirit of stagnation."

"If other measures of a party character need all the machinery of Government to get them placed on the Statute-book, why is it expected that the woman's share of reform is obtainable through the nondescript pressure of public opinion alone? The non-party opportunity has been torpedoed. Party schemes require party support. The offer of a go-as-you-please amendment to a Government Bill is an insult to the intelligence of women."

Referring to the inconsistent and conflicting statements of opinion made by the various members of the Cabinet, Lady Constance remarks: "These mutual criticisms could only be tolerated by members of the same Cabinet if there is a tacit understanding amongst themselves that their words mean very little, although doubtless it is hoped that women will think they mean very much."

The unworthy position of the "Suffragist" members of the Cabinet is exposed in the following passage:—

The situation is well summed up by the guileless comment of a woman who read the recent speeches of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George and accepted their meaning at their face value: "I don't know how such men can sit at the same council-board with anti-suffragists!" Sir Edward Grey explains that he and the majority of his colleagues who agree with him could not resign with good result to the prospects of Woman Suffrage, since that would cause a dissolution. We would remind him that a Cabinet composed exclusively of anti-suffragist Tories could not have acted with more persistent opposition to the enfranchisement of women, nor have more vigorously persecuted those who fought in its defence than the present one. But if a minority in the Cabinet can by negative opposition secure that a Woman Suffrage measure shall not be brought forward, why could not the Suffragist majority secure that a Manhood Suffrage Bill totally ignoring women should not be brought forward?

It is only to a voteless class with no power of self-defence that Ministers can afford to air their differences in public, and plead that, although their acts belie it, their hearts are true to the principle of constitutionalism for women.

For a clear and admirable statement of the reasons why the Conciliation proposals can no longer be accepted we refer our readers to the article itself.

THE REFERENDUM.

The *Westminster Gazette*, in its leading article of December 29, returns to the charge and again sets forth at length the case for a Referendum on Woman Suffrage. While reiterating its opposition to the Referendum as a measure for general use, the *Westminster* asserts that it may properly be employed in regard to Woman Suffrage because this is not a Party question.

That Woman Suffrage is not a Party question arises solely from the fact that women have not got electoral power. If a test of its popularity is needed a much greater one has been supplied by the fact that a majority of the House of Commons has been pledged to this reform. But we are fully aware of the urgent need of making Woman Suffrage a Party question, and it is to that end that the anti-Government policy of the W.S.P.U. is directed. Every man and woman believing in the enfranchisement of women ought to unite in this effort to compel the Liberal leaders to embody Woman Suffrage in their Reform Bill.

The following letter appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* for January 2:—

Dear Sir, — Why not be honest—it pays sometimes even in an editor—and admit that your advocacy of the Referendum is based wholly and solely upon your dislike of Woman Suffrage? The tide is rising fast. You will be swamped. Can you not find a better straw?—Yours faithfully,

C. MANSELL MOULLIN,
69, Wimpole Street, London.

IF AND MAY!

The *Daily News* of January 3 comes out with big headlines: "WOMEN'S LEAP YEAR HOPE: WILL THEY GET THE VOTE IN 1912? BOTH PARTIES TO MEET IN THE ALBERT HALL." And it proceeds to tell us that "Leap year, 1912, is expected to become historic in the annals of woman's fight for the vote. The clash of oratory will begin in earnest next month, . . . The division of

opinion upon this question in the Cabinet makes the situation particularly interesting, but seeing that the majority of members of the House of Commons have expressed themselves in favour of Votes for Women, and that the Prime Minister has intimated that if the House passes an amendment on the subject it may become part of the Government's Reform Bill, Suffragists feel they have good reason for their optimistic outlook."

Still that ominous IF! The italics are our own. The same paper says that while one meeting, some weeks hence, will be addressed by Mr. Lloyd George, another, later still, will, it is understood, be addressed by Liberal Ministers "whose names were not definitely available, but who were understood to include Lord Loreburn and Mr. Harcourt." From Mr. Asquith has come neither a promise nor a refusal, says the *Manchester Guardian*.

We await with interest some further particulars as to the plan of campaign.

THE ONLY WAY.

In *The Standard* of December 29 a letter over the signature "G. W." dealing with Cabinet policy with regard to Woman Suffrage, concluded thus:—

"Only under the driving force of Cabinet responsibility and party discipline could a measure conferring the franchise on women pass through both Houses of Parliament. It is only in this way that the theory of a mandate from the electorate can be tested. To attempt to solve a question of such vast national importance as Women's Suffrage by one go-as-you-please division on an unofficial amendment to a Socialist scheme of electoral change can only end in disappointment and intense irritation."

VIEWS OF MR. LOUGH, M.P.

Mr. Thomas Lough, Liberal member for West Ilclington, speaking at Holborn Town Hall recently said that there were some defects in the position of the Administration with regard to Women's Suffrage. "The position of a Government which came forward and said, 'We are torn in two, and don't know what to say, and will let the House of Commons decide,' was a difficult, a most undignified, almost an indecent position for any Government to be placed in. There was a strong feeling that the Government did not always defer so easily to the opinion of the House of Commons. There was a feeling growing up now that we had not got a House of Commons at all in the old sense that it should be a meeting of the common people free from the control of the Administration." "We are called together," said Mr. Lough, "by the Chief Whip—ominously called the Patronage Secretary—and we go there to do the business the Government sets before us. We are not allowed to whisper in the House of Commons now. The Government holds up its hand—it calls us together and sends us home to bed. I thought these questions had been settled in Stuart times, when Ministers and Kings lost their heads for things which are done with all impunity now and with the acquiescence of all mankind. The Government attitude on Women's Suffrage is rather a contrast to their attitude on other subjects. I could not help being struck with the fact that while Mr. Lloyd George was making his eloquent speech he was not speaking in support of the Bill which the Government are going to bring in. The Government know the opinion of our party, as expressed in many House of Commons divisions. I think it would be wiser and more dignified if they would look the whole question in the face now, and bring in a Bill which they would either back or ask those who don't back it to walk out of the Government if they like, and so restore those ancient principles of government which used to flourish."

LABOUR AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We are asked again to draw attention to the great Demonstration to demand Adult Suffrage, which is being organised by the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society. The meeting will be held at the Royal Albert Hall, on Tuesday, February 13, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be: Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Miss Margaret Bondfield, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, Miss Millicent Murby, and Mr. William C. Anderson, chairman of the Independent Labour Party. The chair will be taken by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. (chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party), who will be supported by Mr. George N. Barnes, M.P., Mr. William Bruce, M.P., Mr. J. B. Clynes, M.P., Mr. Charles Duncan, M.P., Mr. F. W. Goldstone, M.P., Mr. John Hodge, M.P., Mr. Walter Hudson, M.P., Mr. J. Parker, M.P., Mr. J. Pointer, M.P., Mr. Albert Smith, M.P., Mr. J. E. Sutton, M.P., Mr. John W. Taylor, M.P., Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., Mr. Geo. F. Wardle, M.P., and Mr. W. Tyson Wilson, M.P.

As part of the forthcoming Labour campaign in favour of a Government Adult Suffrage measure, the Bow and Bromley branch of the I.L.P. announce a great meeting at Bow Baths on Sunday, January 28. We believe this is the first London meeting of the campaign, and it is hoped to have a crowded and enthusiastic meeting. The speakers will be Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. for Bow and Bromley, Mr. H. D. Harben, and Miss Ward.

PRESS VIEWS.

THE SPECTATOR.

In the course of a leading article, "The Opportunity of the Opposition," on December 30, the *Spectator* writes thus:—"In all human probability, then, when the General Election comes, either this summer or autumn, owing to a breakdown inside the Cabinet over the Government's astonishing way of meeting the Woman Suffrage question. . . . [The rest of the sentence deals with tariff reform.]"

THE TIMES.

In a review of 1911, the *Times*, in a leading article on December 30, said:—"Outside Parliament the attention of the country during the last few months has been fixed on the Insurance Bill, on Home Rule, and on the announcement of a coming Bill for adopting Manhood Suffrage. This last proposal has infuriated the fanatics of Woman Suffrage, who met it by organising a wholesale window-breaking demonstration in Whitehall and the Strand. Nevertheless, Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey have made impassioned speeches on behalf of the cause. The counter-movement against Woman Suffrage has consequently been much strengthened, and at least five Cabinet Ministers, led by the Prime Minister, are firmly opposed to the policy of their colleagues on this vital matter. Such a situation has few precedents in our history."

THE DAILY MAIL.

On the poster announcing the contents of the *Daily Mail* for December 30 was "The Split in the Cabinet." The article to which the poster referred spoke of "the troubles of a divided Cabinet about Votes for Women," of "sharpening weapons for the fight of 1912," and of "campaigns both fierce and strenuous," and comes to the conclusion that "it is difficult to see how disaster to the Government is to be averted."

THE EVENING NEWS.

In the course of a forecast of 1912 the *Evening News* on December 30, said:—"The Suffragettes will be fighting harder than ever for Votes."

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH.

On January 3 the *Daily Telegraph* said:—"Although Parliament does not assemble for another six weeks, there is reason to believe that danger, if not defeat, awaits the Government in general and the Prime Minister in particular during the coming session on the question of Women's Suffrage."

It is not certain in what proportions the Cabinet is split, but the following Ministers are understood to be ranged on the one side and the other:

FOR (12).	AGAINST (7).
Sir Edward Grey	Mr. Asquith
Mr. Lloyd George	Mr. Loreburn
Viscount Morley	Mr. L. Harcourt
Viscount Haldane	Mr. R. McKenna
Mr. Winston Churchill	Mr. H. Samuel
Earl Carrington	Mr. C. E. Hobhouse
Earl Beauchamp	Lord Pentland
Mr. A. Burrell	
Mr. J. Burns	
Mr. S. Buxton	
Mr. J. A. Pease	
Mr. W. Runciman	

THE DAILY CHRONICLE.

The *Daily Chronicle* retaliates on criticisms of the Government attitude in the Conservative Press by publishing a list of leading Unionists for and against Woman Suffrage:—

FOR.	AGAINST.
Mr. Bonar Law.	Mr. A. Chamberlain.
Lord Selborne.	Lord Curzon.
Mr. Lytton.	Lord Cromer.
Lord R. Cecil.	Mr. F. E. Smith.
Lord H. Cecil.	Mr. Walter Long.

THE TABLET.

As our readers know, we believe that the enfranchisement of women would bring a sweetening and wholesome influence on English public life.

THE DAILY POST.

To leave women in their present position is to confess that while we have advanced to a higher civilisation in many things we have remained in a state of barbarism as regards others. Women have proved themselves highly capable in many spheres of citizenship, and their capacity for usefulness will undoubtedly be extended when the franchise is granted to them.

THE WORLD.

Every woman does not want to use a vote, every woman does not interest herself in politics, but every woman ought to care about the welfare of her sex and be anxious that women should be given every reasonable opportunity of doing the best for themselves and securing justice. Obviously, if numbers count for anything, a very great number of thinking as well as hard-working women believe that it would be to their advantage if women had the vote, and therefore, I maintain, in loyalty to their sex, even those of their sisters who neither desire it nor have any interest in public affairs should support those who do.

The question has for many years been a kind of political plaything, but in the present circumstances it must be regarded seriously, and settled once for all in the coming session. — *The Joint Stock Companies' Journal*.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS.

We understand that no remission is to be granted to the Suffragette prisoners now serving their sentences in Holloway, and that the dates of release will therefore be as follows:—Mrs. Roy Rothwell, Tuesday, January 16; Mrs. Leigh, Tuesday, January 23. Twelve of the prisoners sentenced on December 12 will be released on Saturday, February 10, and six on Monday, February 12.

AT BOW STREET.

Out of the House of Bondage.

We, who have been upon the Mount of Vision
And touched the borders of the Promised Land,
Echo the laughter of the Lord's derision.
For ye are fools and slow to understand.

We, who have journeyed through the desert dangers,
We, who have been the outcasts of the earth,
Knowing no portion but as slaves and strangers,
Have reached the fair, free City of our birth!

And now the tide, warned of our sure advancing,
Grown soft of speech, and bearing gifts—too late—
Points out some subway for our future changing—
And on our fore-guards shuts the City gate!

Think you that we, these forty years have striven
Through trackless wastes of solitude and pain,
To be at last baulked of our hope and driven
Despairing to the wilderness again?

Better that we had perished in the distance
True to the leading of the Cloud and Fire,
As on we pressed with passionate persistence
Towards the dear country of our heart's desire.

Better than that this fateful hour should find us,
Soothed by such speech as once our souls
abhorred,
Tricked by such gifts as once we flung behind us,
Ceasing our march or laying down our sword,

Sentence: "A month in second-class division
For breaking plate-glass windows in the Strand!"
Hear ye no laughter of the Lord's derision?
O fools, and slow of heart to understand!

A. G.

OVERHEARD BY A POSTER PARADER.

(She had just come out of Holloway.)

CARTER (flourishing his whip at bad-mannered man on pavement): You leave them alone; they've got more pluck in their little fingers than you've got in your whole miserable body!

FIRST WORKMAN (to second ditto): Well, they've got some grit. They deserve praise for the way they stick to it, if they don't for nothing else."

CLERK-LIKE MAN: I've always said you ladies should vote, and why shouldn't you?

SUFFRAGETTE REPLY: And what have you done to help us get it? (Surprised silence.)

THE SHEFFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH.

"All government," said Professor Massie last night to the local Anti-Suffragists, "rests primarily on force." And that undoubtedly is so. But not necessarily on physical force. It is not the strongest that rule, but the brainiest. Ten men with guns can uphold the law against a mob of a hundred times ten. And even women could learn to use revolvers. Women, however, lack first the power of organisation, secondly the faculty of leadership, thirdly the gift of method, and fourthly imagination, and all these are essential to government. It is no question of the equality of the sexes. There can be no equality between men and women any more than between apples and oranges or between turnips and tomatoes. They are essentially different. And there are phases of life in which women are immeasurably the superior. But not in the essentials of government. And for that reason we should strongly object to any wholesale concession such as Womanhood Suffrage would imply.

THE WOMAN PAYS.

The fact that the woman pays is brought forward prominently by the *Daily Mirror* in connection with the cotton strike. The men, it is stated, play football and generally make holiday, while the wives and mothers are conscious of the shadow of starvation that hangs over their homes.

"CLOSED FOR HOLIDAYS."

Outside W.S.P.U. shop a small girl stands firm and refuses to be taken home without a box of the Purple, White and Green Bonbons. Father patiently waits while the key is obtained, the box bought, and the embryo Suffragette goes off triumphant!

NOTICE.

As already announced, the wedding of Miss Una Dugdale and Mr. Victor Duval will take place at the Chapel Royal, Savoy, on Saturday, January 13, at 2.15 p.m. We are asked to say that owing to the limited seating accommodation of the Chapel Royal only those who have invitations or tickets can be admitted. Tickets may be obtained on application at the W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

THE WIND AND THE POSTER.

An Incident at a Country Station. - By Elizabeth Kirk.

"I wish you wouldn't be so boisterous," said the Poster; "you almost blow me away. You hustle so."

"Well, I'm sure!" answered the Wind. "I like that! I thought you belonged to the people who're always being hustled! I see you are decorated with purple and green."

"Yes," replied the Poster, "so I do; but you forget, we are not always hustled—only when we go to Westminster—"

"Oh! Stop!" roared the Wind. "Now you're going to begin Women's Suffrage, and politics. Blow your ideas. Keep them to yourself!"

"You are blowing them," answered the Poster, meekly.

"You'd get your vote much quicker if you had less to say," went on the Wind, who to-day was inclined to bluster. "Men don't like such a lot of talk. Few words, with a meaning, suits them better."

"Well, really," said the Poster, with more spirit than she had yet shown, "I don't think you've used your eyes. There's not a poster on this station with fewer words than mine, and yet how much my five words mean."

"How—we—silenced—Mr.—Asquith."

"Oh! be quiet, do," roared the Wind. "Who wants to know about you and Mr. Asquith? You'd do well to keep clear of the whole thing, and let yourself out to some respectable paper."

"Like the *Daily News* or the *Star*?" suggested the Poster.

"Don't answer me back," shrieked the Wind, "or I'll send you flying down the line." He tossed the board over, and the Poster rustled and shivered in the cruel blast. Just then a man walked past. He held his hat on with one hand, and in the other he carried a stick, with which he slashed at the Poster as he passed.

The Poster shivered. "They often do that," she said, "and the women's skirts brush against me, and I often hear—"

"And the Station Master," shouted the Wind, "said something little girls ought not to hear, when they put you up this morning. I was quiet for a minute just then and heard."

The Poster answered from the stones where she lay, face downwards, "It's nice to think of you quiet sometimes. I suppose, as you're so masterful, you can pick me up, now you've thrown me down."

"Oh! easily! You just see!" He hustled round the Poster, tossed it high in the air, and across to the other side of the station. Here the busy young man in charge of the bookstall had his turn. He caught it on his stick, and tore it in two. The Wind then claimed it again, threw it into the air, then flung what was left of it into the steaming face of the engine of the down train just coming in. The busy young man at the bookstall found time to look and laugh. The Wind whistled.

An hour later the Station Master came on to the platform and eyed the empty space. "One of your posters has gone," he addressed himself to the young man at the bookstall. "What with the Insurance Bill, the Durbar, the wreck of the Delhi, and the attack on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, we want all your posters now."

"Oh, that one don't matter," said the busy young man; "that's only VOTES FOR WOMEN."

The two men looked at the empty space and laughed.

Ten minutes later a nice looking girl came on to the platform. Her coat and skirt were white, and she wore at her waist and throat the colours of the Poster. She had kind, blue eyes, and pretty curly hair. Her eyes searched the station for something she could not see, so she went to the bookstall and held out a penny. "VOTES FOR WOMEN, please," she said.

The busy young man eyed her, then from the depths of his stall he produced the paper. The girl thanked him; then, "Where is our Poster?" she asked.

"Our Poster!" The man looked round the

station, with the air of one too much occupied by great things to attend to such an unimportant one. "Oh, it's displayed somewhere on the station," he answered. Then he disappeared into the little box in which he often sheltered from the Wind; for it is only fair to the Wind to say that he was unkind not only to the Poster.

The girl looked round again, then tapped at the door of the box.

"I can't see that Poster anywhere," she said, "and I'm greatly interested in it, because I collected the money to display it here. Do please point it out to me."

The busy man pointed to an empty board. "That's its space," he said. "I expect the Wind's blown it away. We've had heavy gales here."

"Dear me," said the girl, "it's strange that between the *Daily News* and the *Chronicle* it couldn't be safe! And it's curious, too, that of all your posters *ours* is the only one the Wind has carried away." The young man looked annoyed, and mumbled something about not being able to control the weather; and the pretty girl took the next train to the town.

She came out again in the next down train. She went straight to the bookstall, and smiled very nicely at the busy young man.

"I've brought you," she said, sweetly, "another poster. I think as the gales are so high we will be more careful this time. A bottle of paste, please." She laid down the sixpence for the paste, and taking it into the waiting room brushed it with dexterous hand across the back of the poster. Then she went out, and handed it to the young man at the bookstall. "Thank you," she said, in her very nicest tone. "If you will please stick it on for me. Thank you. That is very kind."

He bent to do her bidding. She was not mean enough to wait and watch him. She trusted him, and tripped away.



MISS ANGELA WHATELEY

In the Fancy Dress which she wore at the "Three Arts" Ball, where she sold VOTES FOR WOMEN with great success.

An Order Form for VOTES FOR WOMEN and all particulars will be found on p. 228. Regular readers are working hard to get 1,000 new subscribers as a present to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

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The *Aberdeen Daily Journal* of November 10 gives a case of a woman summoned for neglecting her children. It was stated that she had to keep a family of four on her own earnings and those of a boy, amounting altogether to 14s. 3d. per week. She had to work from eight to seven. One might ask how a woman who worked the whole day long for such wages could do anything but neglect her family. No one in court, however, being able to explain the woman's point of view to the Sheriff, the prisoner was sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and we are told a painful scene took place as she waved a farewell to her children.

MISS ASQUITH'S PUBLIC WORK.

A new rôle for our daughters is surely that adopted by the Premier, who deputed the Misses Violet and Elizabeth Asquith to attend a meeting of his constituents in East Fife to receive on his behalf some gifts in acknowledgment of his 25 years' services in Parliament. This novel departure opens up great possibilities. In future, if any M.P. is out of touch with his constituency, he can send the most beautiful member of his family to plead his cause—and even in real life the Portias seldom fail. The time may possibly come when the would-be M.P. will keep in the background altogether while his better half and his olive branches do the talking. But this will not satisfy the Suffragette. It is the vote she wants.

—*Liverpool Evening Express.*

A WOMAN JUDGE.

Lady lawyers and lady policemen we are somewhat familiar with, and now the lady judge has arrived in the person of Mrs. Lydia Berkeley Tague, of the County Court of Eagle County, Colorado. A few months ago her husband, who was Judge Peter Tague, died, and the County Commissioners were so impressed with his wife's capabilities that they gave her his place on the bench. Mrs. Tague's father was a judge, and her earliest memory is that of going into the old courtroom and hearing her father try cases. Apparently the County Commissioners believe that she is the right person in the right place, for although there were half-a-dozen applicants for the appointment after her husband's death, they asked her to take the place. She protested that she was not a lawyer, but the Commissioners declared that they did not need a lawyer but wanted some commonsense. People call Mrs. Tague "the commonsense judge," because they say it fits. A great deal of Mrs. Tague's work is probate cases. She is a notary public, and also takes care of the Land Office work in Eagle County. She is a democrat, and has cast her vote ever since suffrage was granted in Colorado eighteen years ago. "Of course I enjoy voting," says Mrs. Tague. "I think women ought to vote and take an interest in the Government, if it is for no other reason than to keep up their self-respect. We cannot do any worse with the ballot than the men have done."

—*Liverpool Echo.*

ECHOES OF NOVEMBER 21. NEW YORK EVENING GLOBE.

Nine Englishmen out of ten will tell you that the woman suffrage movement has made headway because the Suffragettes have known how to organize a row. The best arguments of their best talkers would have made no such impression upon the British professional politician. What has impressed him is the readiness of Suffragettes to break the law and go to gaol.

The Suffragettes believe, and have every reason to believe, that they cannot make the average Briton listen to reason until they have waked him up.

THE REFEREE.

In the recent upheaval, with stones in it, there was considerable provocation if there was no justification. It must be exceedingly exasperating to women ratepayers to find the Government preparing to give the franchise to all males, good, bad, and indifferent, and still leaving the claims of women in abeyance.

THE RECURRING THOUGHT.

The sun shines bright this winter's day,
And earth smiles in her sleep.
What sun is there in Holloway,
Where shadows lie so deep?
The firelight flickers on the walls,
My room grows warm and bright,
What of the chill of Holloway,
The deepening chill of night?
The wind blows free across the downs
And lays the heavens bare.
What of the air in Holloway,
That dead and deadening air?
I turn upon my pillows soft,
I strain my aching sight.
What of the souls in Holloway—
Does one sleep well to-night?
Yet would I give the light and sun,
The wind-swept country fair,
For just one cell in Holloway
And the right to enter there.

THE CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR HAMPER.

The following kindly sent contributions for the above:—Calendars and crackers from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and photos from Miss Christabel Fankhurst; Miss Isabel M. Wilson, Scotch short-bread; Miss E. C. Molt, 3s.; Miss Brownie, 2s. 6d.; Miss Kathleen Armstrong, 2s.; Mrs. Eliz. Cairns, 5s.; Mrs. Methwick, 21s.; Miss Rose Farmer, 2s. 6d.; Preston W.S.P.U., 5s. (per Mrs. Rigby); Mrs. Crosby Smith, mince pies; Mrs. MacDonald, turkey. Over £19 has been received. Would anyone like to make up the sum to £20?

OUR POST BOX.

A CONFESSION.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—Being a mere man and, in common with the rest of my sex, imbued with the popular masculine dictum that man is the "Lord of Creation" and woman his inferior in all essential qualities, it is not at all surprising that I had, at the outset, very little sympathy with the now popular cry of "Votes for Women," and I must confess that when the furtherance of her views in that direction led her into all those naughty pranks which are a matter of bygone history, I was among those who concluded that she had given us an additional proof, if one were wanted, that she was totally unfit for the exercise of such an important duty as to assist in choosing our legislators. Probably, in a village such as ours, we are apt to be a little narrow-minded. The great affairs of State and the turmoil of the outer world trouble us but little. True, the unwonted excitement of a General Election rouses us for a short time, and we record our votes, as our fathers did, for Tory or Radical, as the case may be, and call those who differ from us knaves or fools. But once it is over we fall back into our rustic and placid mood, and the world goes on as usual, regardless of us and we it. And so the great Woman's movement only gave rise to a tolerant smile at its foolishness, and perhaps a frequent phrase on our lips when some poor Suffragette was hauled off to gaol was a careless "Serve her right." As an old Tory, violent changes were repugnant to my feelings, and I saw no reason for any change in this direction. "I couldn't see that woman had any wrongs to be righted, and if she had I did not admit that the exercise of the franchise would be of any benefit to her."

But there came a day when I began (or rather was forced) to think about it. A meeting on the question of Votes for Women was announced to be held in a small room in the village, at which a Suffragette was to give an address. Out of curiosity I attended it, and though she spoke eloquently and earnestly, to me, at the time, her arguments were unconvincing. Still they made me think, and I went on thinking till I began to admit the justice of her views, though I doubted the expediency of giving effect to them. But some time after this another meeting was held in the schoolroom, which was crowded by an audience more or less hostile. Probably there was a majority of twenty to one against woman's right to a Parliamentary vote. The principal speaker spoke, amid breathless silence, for an hour. How eloquently she pleaded the cause of her sex, how plainly she showed that reform was urgently needed in the very direction where the advice and influence of women were badly wanted.

All honour to that brave little woman who fearlessly trounced us for our selfish stupidity, and, beginning her address with twenty to one against her, ended it with a hundred to one in her favour. The "Votes for Women" movement became that night a reality in our village—not a thing to scoff at, or dismiss with just an indulgent shrug of the shoulder. From that night I have gone on thinking, and now I will do my best to further the woman's cause. I can see now that what I used to call silly and childish behaviour was the very best means the woman could use to compel man to think of her wrongs, with a view to making them rights, and when I ponder on the ghastly mistakes and failures of our Statesmen, I am reconciled to the idea that some day we may have even Stateswomen, in the hope that when that day comes, as come it surely will, they will be the "little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump," and that their gentle and womanly influence may be a real helpmeet to our country, check the tide of useless legislation, and direct it to a channel whence may flow untold good for every man, woman and child in our great Empire.

RUSTIC.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

Mr. Alfred Iron writes to remind us that in a letter to Max Kyllman, Mr. John Stuart Mill wrote as follows:—

With regard to the other subject of your letter, I quite agree with you that no Reform Bill which we are likely to see for some time to come will be worth moving hand or foot for. But, with respect to the Manhood Suffrage movement and the question of my taking part in it, I have long been determined that I would on no account whatever aid any attempt to make the suffrage universal to men unless the inclusion of women were distinctly and openly proclaimed as a substantive part of the design. There are only two things worth working for—a practical result or a principle. If a practical result, it should be one which is attainable; if a principle, not to go the whole length of it is to sacrifice it. I look upon agitation for manhood, as distinguished from universal suffrage, as decidedly mischievous. The exceptionally enlightened leaders mentioned in your letter may not intend, in claiming half, to deny the whole; but such is the power of words that every time the phrase "manhood suffrage" is publicly pronounced, save in contempt or execration, an additional rivet is added to the chain of half the human species. It is to be remembered, too, that "universal suffrage" was the expression formerly used by all Radicals, and it was withdrawn and manhood suffrage substituted, precisely because the wider expression had been criticised as including women. To adopt a phrase which has no other reason of existence than that it excludes them would be, in my opinion, to betray the principle, and, at the same time, to make a retrograde step.

The following extract is taken from a letter which was written to Judge Chapman, then Prime Minister of the Colony of Victoria, at which time men only had the Vote. It was not until 1908 that women were enfranchised and the suffrage thus made truly universal. It was not until the 16th of this month (November, 1911) that women in Victoria recorded their vote for the first time:—

"The only thing which seems wanting to make the suffrage really universal is to get rid of the Toryism of sex by admitting women to vote, and it will be a great test how far the bulk of your population deserve to have the suffrage themselves, their being willing or not to extend it to women. I am sorry, by the way, that the vulgar and insulting expression 'manhood suffrage' has found its way to Australia; whether co-intended or not, it asserts the exclusion of women as a doctrine, which is worse than merely ignoring them, as was done by giving the name 'universal suffrage' to a suffrage limited to men."

GETTING NEW READERS.

Miss G. K. Russell writes:—"I enclose postal order for 6s. 6d. from my doctor, for a year's subscription. I persuaded him a year ago to take it in, and sent you a P.O. then, and now he wishes to become a permanent subscriber. I have also enlisted three new members, who all went with me on November 21; they take the paper through their newagents. A lady to whom I talked in a train also said she would take it in regularly, and I hope to get two at least towards the 1,000."

FROM A YOUNG SUFFRAGETTE.

A Suffragette who is only 12 years old has written a clever suffrage adaptation of "Scots wha hae," of which the first verse runs as follows:—

Women who for years hae wrought;
Freedom sweet hae vainly sought;
Women who for years hae fought;
On to victory!
Raise your banners bright and gay,
Glory ever leads the way,
Women yet will win the day,
Day of Liberty.

SHOOLBRED'S

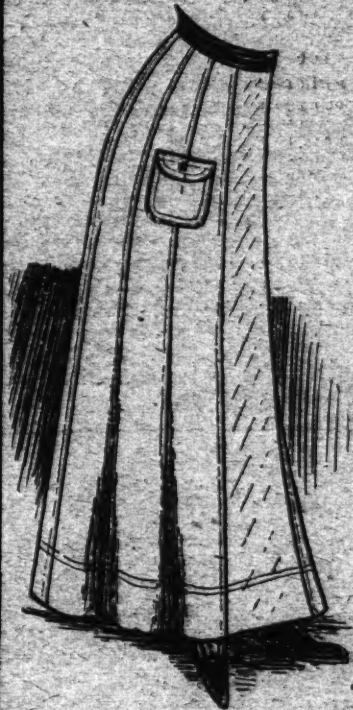
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WOMEN J.P.'S.

We know from a Harleian MS. that ladies of the olden time have not scorned to administer justice. Thus the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., was a justice of the peace. From the same source we learn that "Justice Joanes affirmed that he had often heard from his mother of the Lady Bartlet, mother to the Lord Bartlet, that she was a justice of the peace, and did set usually upon the bench with the other justices in Gloucestershire; that she was made so by Queen Mary upon her complaint to her of the injuries she sustained by some of that county, and desiring for redress thereof, that as she herself was chief justice of all England, so this lady might be in her own county, which accordingly the Queen granted."—*The Daily Chronicle*.

WOMEN AS HALL PORTERS.

Sweden has recently tried the experiment of having girls as hall porters in some of the summer resort hotels. The girls have given complete satisfaction, and the practice promises to become general throughout the Swiss hotels. One girl who has been so employed speaks half a dozen languages, and wears a uniform of blue cloth on week days and blue silk on Sundays.

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

One of England's most important colonies British Columbia, which owes much of its prosperity to the hard work of the British women, is now, we are glad to say, waking up to the fact that it is a poor return to such women to place them under unjust laws, in the making of which they have had no voice. In the early days many of the British settlers took native wives and made laws to suit themselves, without considering their women-kind at all. The British and American women, who now form a large part of the community, feel indignant that these old, unjust laws still continue. For years various societies have done good work, but they seem now to realise that they are powerless without the franchise. A correspondent writes:—After long working and waiting the result has been the forming of a vigorous league. It was started in the early part of the year, and called the Women's Political League, and it was fully organised before I left Vancouver on April 27. A nice hall had been engaged permanently for regular meetings; also an office on the fifth floor of the tallest building in the city, with Votes for Women very prominent on windows and door in large gold letters. A lift takes visitors up and down; they receive a hearty welcome, and every information, as well as literature, is given them. A number of successful drawing-room meetings have been held in the suburbs, and a convention was about to take place; delegates and speakers were coming from Seattle, Washington, and Victoria, B.C., where there is an older society than that of Vancouver.

A specially gratifying point about this movement is that the young society has adopted purple, white, and green as its colours.

A COMMENT FROM JAMAICA.

It is everlastingly true that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the cause. Hang a hundred leaders to-day and a thousand more shall spring up to take their places. Ride these down and a greater multitude shall appear. Yes, for every man shall then become a leader, and every woman shall to a mighty warrior. And those who are now despised shall show themselves grave soldiers in the liberation war of humanity. . . . Those who are now laughing at the Suffragist Movement in England do not realise the strength of that movement. . . . It has gained rapidly in force; it is spreading; it is directed by some of the ablest women in Great Britain. It will succeed. . . . Women will no longer submit to be governed by men. . . . We hear much about the sphere and the duties of women in these days. But it is noticeable that it is men who lay down the law as to what that sphere and those duties are. It is men who undertake to say what a woman shall do, and shall be; in other words, one-half of the population undertakes to decide what is best for the other half, without troubling itself about the other half's opinion. How long can such an anomaly last?—*Daily Telegraph and Standard* (Kingston).

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"Votes for Women"

(Price 1d. The Weekly Newspaper of the Women's Social and Political Union.)

Published every Friday at 4, Clements Inn, Strand, London, W.C.
EDITED BY Mr. & Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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M.B.—The next London Free Meeting in the New Year will be held at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W., on Monday, January 15, at 8.15 p.m. The evening meetings in the Holway Hall will be resumed on Thursday, January 18, at 8 p.m.

ings in both towns during the first week in February. Particulars will be announced later.
 Tues., Jan. 9.—Halifax, Mechanics' Institute, Miss Annie Williams, 8 p.m.
 Fri., Jan. 12.—Huddersfield, Parochial Hall, Miss Annie Williams, 3.30 p.m.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Office—3, Cookridge Street.
 Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.
 Tues., Jan. 9.—3, Cookridge Street, Speakers' Class, 7.30 p.m.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—77, Blackett Street. Tel. No.: 4891 Central.
 Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth.

Christmas holidays now being over, all are asked to work their hardest to make the Spring Campaign a great success. Campaigns will be carried out in different new places, and much help will be needed. All particulars of Mrs. Pankhurst's visit will be given next week. Will all members please attend the meeting on Wednesday next?

Wed., Jan. 10.—Office, 7.30 p.m.
 Fri., Jan. 12.—Stockfield Institute, Lady Parsons, Mrs. Atkinson, North Shields, Mrs. Taylor, Miss Laura Ainsworth.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Office—26-28, Chapel Walk, Sheffield.
 Hon. Sec.—Miss Coxhill.

It is hoped that all members will be present at the debate arranged by Mrs. Scurfield on Wednesday, January 10.

North-Western Counties.

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—11, Renshaw Street. Tel.: 3761 Royal.
 Organiser—Miss Davies.

Great interest is being shown in Chester and Wrexham at the prospect of a visit from Mrs. Pankhurst. Miss Davies would be glad to hear from friends and sympathisers living in these neighbourhoods who could give some practical help. Will members note that the date of the Whist Drive is altered to January 22, instead of January 15.

MANCHESTER.

Office—32, King Street, W.
 Hon. Sec.—Miss L. Williamson.

In order to do effective work, will members and friends not fail to attend the weekly Thursday evening meeting, 7 to 10, and will each member offer to do one piece of work for the Cause throughout the new year? On the first Thursday in each month reports of the previous month's work will be given by the secretary, treasurer, Votes secretary, and literature secretary. Many December subscriptions are still due. Will friends send all jumble parcels during office hours? Mrs. Drummond will speak in Milton Hall, Deansgate, on January 20 at 7.30 p.m.

ROCHDALE.

Office—2a, Baillie Street. Hon. Lit. Sec.—Mrs. M. Scott, 10, Mayfair Gardens, Rochdale.

The offices open to-morrow (Saturday), with a tea for members and friends, after which plans for work will be discussed. It is hoped there will be a good attendance, and that everybody will be ready to do something to help. Miss Briggs will speak.

WALLASEY.

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Mahood, Bursough Bridge, Lanes, Mrs. F. Heathcote, 21, St. Martin's Lane, Liscard.

Will all members attend and bring their friends to hear the discussion on Monday, January 8, "Is the Modern Woman an Improvement on her Grandmother?" Paper-sellers are doing well, and sales are increasing weekly. Will others please send in their names to Mrs. Panter-Brick; any who can spare half an hour now and then are badly needed.
 January 8.—Seacombe, 1, Mainwaring Road, Miss M. Slade, Mr. Shaw. Chair: Mrs. Mahood, 8 p.m.

Scotland.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Shop and Office—562, Sauchiehall Street.
 Tel.: 615, Charing Cross. Hon. Sec.—Miss F. McPherson. Organiser—Miss Parker.

Many thanks to Miss Underwood for so kindly keeping the shop open during the holidays. Miss Green is to be congratulated on her successful canvass of the shops; she succeeds in disposing of six dozen Votes for Women weekly. Will the paper-sellers who have been on holiday, please call at the office and take up their duties again? The weekly At Home will be resumed next Friday afternoon (see below). It is hoped that there will be a good attendance of members and friends.
 Tues., Jan. 9.—Cambuslang, drawing-room meeting. Hostess: Mrs. Wilson. Speaker: Miss F. Parker (Central).
 Fri., Jan. 12.—Charing Cross Hall, At Home, Mrs. Scott-Maxwell, 3.30 p.m.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

For Women's Enfranchisement.

Offices—13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
 Telephone—City 6673.

Hon. Organising Sec.—Victor D. Duval.

Members are asked to do their utmost to be present at the social meeting of members to be held at the Inns of Court Hotel on Wednesday, January 10, at 8.30 p.m. Mr. H. W. Nevins will occupy the chair. Amount already acknowledged: £1,204 7 8
 D. Cameron-Swan, Esq. 0 5 0
 Miss Olivia B. Proctor 0 3 6
 Frank Witby, Esq. 0 5 0
 Mrs. Alice Green 2 10 0
 A. E. Löwy, Esq., "Roundabout" 0 1 7
 Membership fees 0 2 0
 Takings at the Fair and Fête 39 14 3
 Total £1,247 9 0

MUNSTER WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Day, Myrtle Hill House, Cork.

Members have been very active during the last two weeks. The Speakers' Class is now in full swing and good results are looked for as great interest is being taken in it. Two public meetings have been held, one of which was addressed by Miss E. O. E. Somerville, who spoke on the educating effects of the movement, but urged that much has still to be accomplished in this way in Ireland where the appalling activity of the English canvasser at election time is practically unknown. The present political situation with the probable effects of the Manhood Suffrage Bill upon Woman Suffrage was explained by Miss Day, and arrangements made to welcome Miss Lennox, W.S.P.U., during her short visit to Cork. On Friday, December 22, Miss Lennox spoke of the recent militancy and the events which had given rise to it in a speech that thrilled her hearers. The first public Suffrage meeting that has ever been held in Youghal is taking place on January 4. Considerable interest has been awakened in the town and good results are anticipated. The Waterford Branch is now well established, and new members are being enrolled steadily in all branches.

IRISH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss G. O'Connell Hayes, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand.

There will be an open meeting at above address on Tuesday next, January 8, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Miss Bridget M. O'Reilly. It is hoped all members will attend.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Education Mistress—Miss Rosa Lee, 43, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W.
 Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The classes will be resumed on Friday, January 12, at 7.45, when the subject will be "A Short Review of the Chief Events in the Movement during the Past Year up to the Present Situation." Members will be able to refresh their memories from "The Outlook" in last week's Votes for Women. It is hoped that the new term will open with a very good attendance, as more speakers are always wanted. Will those who have any books from the library either return them on or before next Friday without fail?

RULES.

1. Members of the W.S.P.U. only are eligible.
2. The Class is held at 4, Clements Inn, Room 72, every Friday, at 7.45 p.m. sharp.
3. Entrance fee, 3d. weekly, proceeds to be used for the purchase of educational literature.
4. The Library books are only to be kept one week, and must be returned or sent by post before the next class.
5. Members are limited to ten classes, and it must be clearly understood that no one shall be admitted to these classes except intending speakers.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 121.
 President—Mrs. Forbes Robertson.
 Organising Secretary—Miss G. M. Conolan.

The next At Home will be held in the Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant on Friday, January 12, at 3 p.m. (Please note change of date). Miss Winifred Mayo will take the chair. Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, Mrs. Percy Dearmer and Sir John Rolleston will speak, and Miss Lily Brayton will be the hostess.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOC. FOR W.S.

President—Mrs. Cecil Chapman.
 Office—8, Park Mansions, Knightsbridge (opposite Tube Station).

The programme for the Twelfth Night Party, to be held to-morrow (Saturday), includes Miss May Mukle, Miss Winifred Mayo, and Miss Grainger-Kerr. Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s., can be obtained from the office. The Tuesday At Home begins again on January 9, when Miss Helen Ogston will speak on "Women in History" at 4.15 p.m., and Miss Douglas will be hostess. A matinee in aid of the funds will be held at the Kingsway Theatre on Thursday, March 21. The Actresses' Franchise League have promised to give two or three new plays, and Mrs. Portree has kindly arranged for short turns for the intervals. Details will be announced later. Meanwhile, members are asked to note the date and to volunteer help, especially in advertising and selling tickets. All must help to make the matinee a success, and provide a substantial addition to the treasury.

CATHOLIC W.S. SOCIETY.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Beatrice Gadsby, B.A. Hon. Treas.: Miss Monica Whately.

Office—51, Blandford Street, Baker Street, W.

Members are asked to make known the new office address. Office hours 5 to 6 on Tuesdays and Fridays, or by appointment. Members are particularly requested to write at once to the hon. sec. offering to lend their drawing-rooms for meetings—a series of which are to be held directly after the holidays. Funds are also urgently needed for the campaign.

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR W.S.

Hon. General Secs.—Rev. C. and Mrs. Fleming Williams, 2, Holmby View, Clapton, N.

The general secretaries will be glad to communicate with those anxious to form branches or arrange for meetings. Combined meetings with the Church League are being arranged. Details will be given later. Donations to the Forward Movement Fund should be sent to the hon. treasurer, Mrs. Holman, 55, Talbot Road, Highgate, N.

NOTICE.

There will be no meeting at 50, Præd Street, on Wednesday, January 10.

ITEMS OF INTEREST.

Lady Isabel Margesson was the speaker at Mrs. Davis's and Miss Oldfield's At Home at the Y.W.C.A. Rooms, St. Owen Street, Hereford, on December 20. Mrs. Davis presided, and there was a large and interested audience. Lady Margesson dealt with the law as it affects the woman as mother and as wife, and pointed out how utterly unrecognized by the State the poor woman is.

A prize of £250 was recently offered by Mr. Andrew Melrose for the best novel, and this has been won by the first work of a woman writer, Miss Miriam Alexander, of County Dublin. It is entitled "The House of Lisronan."

The Battersea Branch of the Women's Labour League has passed a resolution strongly protesting against the attitude of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in identifying himself with the policy of a Liberal Prime Minister by threatening to vote against the amendment to extend the franchise to women, and recording its absolute agreement with the policy of the militant suffrage campaign.

At the Quarterly Meeting of the London Branch of the Church Socialist League, held on Wednesday, December 13, the following resolutions were passed:—(1) That the Branch strongly protests against the ignoring of the electoral rights of women by the present Government proposals for Franchise Reform and calls upon our Groups to use every endeavour to make this protest effectual and to transform Manhood into Adult Suffrage; (2) That the Branch approves of the principle of Adult Suffrage (i.e. Votes for all men and women after a short residential qualification) and urges upon all Members of Parliament to resist any measure of extended franchise unless it includes women.

A lady friend of ours who is an ardent anti-suffragist announced to us on Saturday that she had joined a Votes for Women organisation. We asked her the why and the wherefore. "If women had had votes," she said, "that detestable servant clause would not have appeared in the Insurance Bill." That is more than likely—seeing who is the author of the Bill. That great man keeps a very careful eye upon the vote barometer.

—Sheffield Telegraph.

The Lambeth Board of Guardians, at their meeting on November 29, appointed a woman relieving officer, who will devote her time principally to cases of relief affecting women and children.

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Suffragists desiring information as to the Conditions under which Women Work should read the columns of the **LABOUR LEADER**, in which Factory and Public Health Law is explained by an expert.

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Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word. Four insertions for the price of three.

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

McMANUS - MACKENZIE. - James McManus, M.B.C.S., L.R.C.P., of Beaumaris, and Marion Ellen Mackenzie, M.B.C.B., of Scarborough, married January 1, 1911. At Home, Beaumaris, February 2 and 3.

MISS KERR (W.S.P.U.), has several umbrellas, a necktie, and a variety of other articles left at the Christmas Fair and Fete.

THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale a Microscope in Case and fifty-seven slides. Offers invited. Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

BARON'S COURT, BOSCOMBE, BOURNE-MOUTH. - High-class Boarding Establishment. Moderate.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Superior. - 26, Kensington Gardens Square, Hyde Park. Excellent position, close Queen's Road Tube and Whiteley's, overlooking private gardens; most comfortable, clean, quiet; good cooking, liberal table. From 21s. Highly recommended.

BRIGHTON - TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21. - Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms 25s. to 30s. - Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

DESIRED, two Gentlewomen (relatives or friends) to join another in her convenient country residence, doing and catering for themselves. Good charwoman available. - For terms and particulars apply L., care of Eustace, Ellerslie, Torquay.

FOLKESTONE, Trevastra, Bouverie Road West. - Board residence or private apartments. Excellent position, close to sea, lawn, and garden; separate tables. - Proprietress, Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

LADY WORKERS, VISITORS. - Board Residence, home comforts; every convenience; buses all parts. Owner trained nurse. Moderate. Stamp. Telephone, 963 Kensington - 43, Netterton Grove, Chelsea.

NORFOLK HALL HOTEL, 187, Euston Road, London, W.C. (3 minutes, King's Cross, St. Paul's, Euston Railway Stations). Best attendance, breakfast from 4s. 6d. Breakfast served from 6 o'clock a.m. Open to non-residents.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies. - Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day. - Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUPFRAGETTES, spend your Winter Holidays at SUNNY BRIGHTON. - Comfortable board residence with Miss Turner. "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton, Nat. Tel. 1702. Terms moderate.

SUNNY PAINTON. - Ramble Private Hotel. First-class cooking and service. South aspect. Extensive sea views. Separate tables, £2 2s. weekly inclusive. - Lady Manager.

TWO ladies (gardening, poultry farming) receive Paying Guests. Sunny house; good cooking. Near church, post, station. Lovely country; good cycling; between Bournemouth, Salisbury. Winter terms, 25s. - Leslie-Carrington, Verwood, Dorset.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, temporary or permanent. Hamlet, Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation. Room and breakfast from 2s. - Madame Veigelé, 43 and 45, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W.

TO LET, Etc.

BLOOMSBURY. - Part private house (occupied by owner only). Unfurnished. Three or four rooms (1911, by 1811). Kitchen, Bath, Garden. - A. M., 9, Gordon Street, W.C.

CHELSEA. - Furnished or Unfurnished Rooms, with or without attendance, for day workers; terms moderate. - Box 224, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

CROYDON. - Trained nurse, residing best neighborhood, desires to let furnished bedroom and sitting room. Opportunity for invalid. Terms moderate. - Morton, 43, The Village, Old Charlton, Kent.

HAMPSTEAD. - Part of Furnished Flat. Separate kitchen; bath; electric light; gas stoves. Near tube. - Box 238, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

HINDHEAD, Haslemere. - To Let, Furnished, Small Convenient House. Two sitting-rooms, four bedrooms, bathroom, nice garden. Sunny sheltered situation. Rent from two to three guineas according to length of tenancy. - Write to Miss Morgan-Brown, Grayshott, Hampshire.

LARGE MUSIC STUDIO (2nd fl.) to be let for one or two days a week. The attendance use of grand piano; near Gloucester Road Station. - Apply P. P., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for Meetings, at Home, Danes, Lectures. Refreshments provided. - Apply, Albert's Tea Rooms, 283, Oxford St.

LONDON, W.C. district preferred. Gentlewoman requires 3 or 4 unfurnished rooms. Use bath room. Business premises or otherwise. - Apply H., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

LONDON, W.C. - Six good Rooms; upper part of house; very centrally situated; every separate accommodation. - Apply S., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

MORSEHEAD MANIONS (off Elgin Avenue), Maida Vale, W. - A few flats to let in these popular Manions, which occupy fine open position (facing Paddington Recreation Grounds). Five Rooms and Bath Room; rent £50 to £60 per annum. Apply to the Builder and Owner, W. H. Pearce, Estate Office (on premises). There is a Restaurant in connection with these flats, solely for the convenience of the tenants.

MUSWELL HILL. - Furnished flat to let. Three bedrooms, two sitting-rooms. Moderate terms. - Apply (by letter) 23, Summerland Mansions, N.

NEW FOREST. - Small Six-roomed Cottage; furnished; perfectly dry; warm; faces south; beautiful scenery; the mile station; linen; 10s. weekly. - Apply, Miss Kirkwood, Crowborough.

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AN EVENING CLASS for Women Workers attending Miss Noel Temple's lectures on Business Knowledge will begin the course, February 7. Fee, 10s. 6d. - 53, Finborough Road, S.W.

ANSTEEY COLLEGE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING AND HYGIENE, Brighton, Worwickshire. - A full professional course in Ling's Swedish system of educational and medical gymnastics, games, dancing, swimming, hygiene. Girls of character and ability needed to train for a vocation which is vital to the physical and moral welfare of the Empire. Good appointments obtained. Send for illustrated prospectus.

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GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and rejection. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man. In spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know **WHERE** and **HOW** they misrepresent and misrepresent it? Send 7d. for 100 *Questions Answered*, a Woman's Catechism, printed purposely to solve your perplexities. - Katharine Bushnell, Haverford, Chester.

IF YOU WANT TO MAKE MONEY, take lessons (by correspondence) in Chocolates and Sweets (cooked and uncooked). For particulars and sample box, apply Mrs. Pain, Sunnyside, Rossall School, Fleetwood, Lancs.

MISS HUGOLIN HAWKES gives lessons in Spoken, Acting, and Reciting; 3 scholarships offered to be competed for December 1912; classes given in organized air at Eustace Miles' Lecture Rooms if desired; Brighton visited weekly. - Apply 8, Ashburnham Mansions, Chelsea.

POULTRY FARM. - Vacancy for student. Incubators now working. Variety of breeds stocked. - Terms apply M. and P. Spang, The Felbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead.

POULTRY KEEPING. - A five weeks' course of instruction commences on January 15. Lectures and practical work. - For particulars, apply Lovegrove's Poultry Farm, Woodcote, Reading.

TO SUPFRAGIST SPEAKERS. - Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production, and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Club, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Isaac Zangwill writes: "Thanks to your teaching, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness." - while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

TWELFTH NIGHT. - W.S.P.U. Cinderella Dance (Fancy dress optional), Chiswick Town Hall, January 8, 1912 at 8 p.m. Suffragists and friends are welcome. Tickets: Double (Lady and Gent), 7s. Single 4s., from P. Coombs, 58, Sutton Court Road, Chiswick.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

A LADY (German) of good family seeks a post as private secretary or companion. Her qualifications a great deal and her knowledge of French and English. Good references. - Apply R. K., The Manse, New Malden, Surrey.

LADY desires situation as Gardener; thorough knowledge of all garden work. - Apply to the Horticultural Society (by examination), W., 13, Sheshone Road, Yeovil, Somerset.

UNDERGRADUATE (W.S.P.U.) desires post as Secretary, preferably to militant; fully trained; temporary or permanent. - D. S., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

YOUNG LADY, 24, seeks post as driver; taken Chauffeur's practical and theoretical course; driving certificate; running repairs; willing to be useful in any way, go anywhere. - Box 236, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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WANTED by Mrs. H. A. Archdale for first week in January, two women-relatives or friends preferred - to undertake management of a household. Good salary. - Apply Miss J. Kenney, 45, Albert Bridge Road, Battersea.

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LADIES' HOSTEL FOR SALE. - Sound construction, W.C. district, established several years. Cash price, £250, as going concern. Good living easily managed for one or two Ladies. Full particulars, Box 234, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Finch Church Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antique, Old Tools, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity. Heavily valued and appraised. Telephone: 2636 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale a Lady's beautiful Diamond Set 18 Karat Ring, price £10; a handsome Pearl and Diamond Dress Ring, price £5. - Apply, Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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DRESSMAKING, TAILORING. - D'Elarde, 48, Connaught Street, Hyde Park, W. Afternoon and Evening Gowns to order, £4 4s. Costumes to order, £2 12s. 6d. Materials taken.

DRESSMAKER (Suffragette) with wide experience in cutting, fitting, and remodeling (best work only), visits ladies' residences. Highest testimonials. Terms 7s. 6d. per day. - Apply Box 898, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

JANOVER, Ladies' Tailor, 46, York Street, Buckingham Gate, S.W. - Coat and skirt made to order, lined with silk, 35s. guineas. Recommended by well-known members of W.S.P.U.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES. - Latest West-End and Paris styles, from 5 guineas. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application. - H. Nollson, Ladies' Tailor, 18, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's).

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A MODEL LAUNDRY. - Family work a specialty. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labor only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries. - Bullens, Crosby House Laundry, Raynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

OLD OAK FARM LAUNDRY, 3, Bloemfontein Avenue, Shepherd's Bush, W.

A Record. - Unsolicited testimonials received in one month: - Elbury Street, S.W., 16 November, 1911. "I am always glad to recommend your laundry, as it never fails to give satisfaction."

"I should like to say I am very pleased with work done and attention given."

"We shall not be in town until after Christmas, when we will be very glad to return to the Old Oak Farm excellent washing."

"The way my washing has been done is always beyond praise; I am more than pleased." - Mrs. Purdie, W.S.P.U., Manchester. Prices moderate. Original testimonials forwarded if required.

WHITE ROSE LAUNDRY, Kingston Hill. - Ideal country laundry, three acres drying grounds, pure soap and unlimited water, grass bleaching, hot open-air drying. Flannels returned soft and linen well dried. - Photographs and price lists on application. Managers, Mrs. Carter. Phone, 322 F.O., Kingston.

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectively performed. It is the only permanent cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free. - Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Northolt Square, W. Telephone: 357 Mayfair.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lashout. Certificate given. Special terms to nurses. - Address, Miss Theakston, 65, Great Portland Street, W.

ELECTROLYSIS skilfully performed. Ladies may be attended at their own residences. Special terms to assistants and Unionists. - Write, "Virian," 15, Harwood Avenue, Dorset Square, W.

HAIR DESTROYER. - James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemicals, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 6d., or 5s. - Mrs. V. James, 288, Chiswick Road, London, N.

TRAVEL.

PRIVATE SOCIAL TOURS. - Gentlemen and gentlewomen. Feb. 1, Spain; March 11, Italian Cities; later, Italian Lakes, Russia. - Miss Bishop, "Hastemere," Wimbledon Park Road, Wimbledon.

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HONEY. - 5 lbs. pure Honey, carriage paid, any address, 3s. 3d. Large quantities cheaper. Splendid value. - W. Abbott, St. Mary's Lodge, Woodford, Essex.

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A. W. PATTERSON, Upholsterer. - Curtains, Draperies, Loose Covers. All branches of Stuffing and Re-covering Furniture. Estimates Free. - 34, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

BECHSTEIN Upright Grand Piano; great bargain. Salford Broadway, nearly new, very cheap. Blithem Grand; bargain. - 11, Parkhurst Road, Camden Road.

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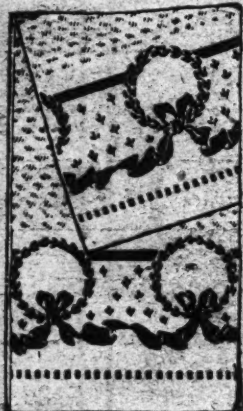
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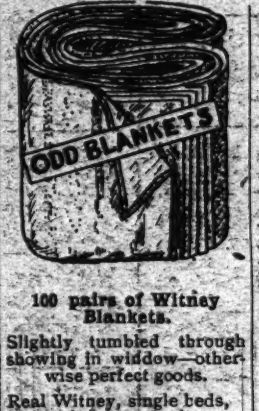
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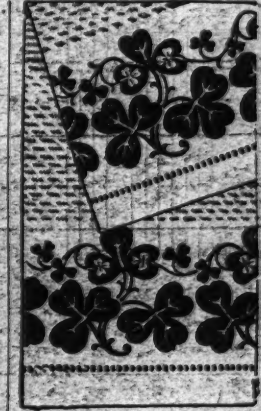
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